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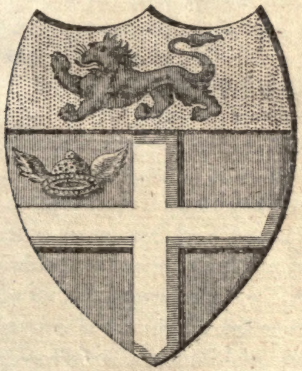
AN
APOLOGY
FOR
The BELIEVERS
IN THE
SHAKSPEARE-PAPERS,
WHICH WERE EXHIBITED
IN NORFOLK-STREET.

QUI ALTERUM INCUSAT PROBRI, EUM IPSUM SE INTUERI OPORTET. PLAUT.

AND IN THE REPROOF OF THIS [*Inquiry*] LIES THE JEST. POINS.



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THE

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF Mr. Malone, in his zeal for detecting the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, which were exhibited as Shakſpeare's; and which, with little help from others, had already detected themſelves, had written, inſtead of *his* INQUIRY, a pamphlet in *plain proſe*; ſtating his objections, without irony, and ſubmitting his documents, without ſcoffs; thereby impugning fraud, without aſſerting fiction, and convincing opponents, without rouſing adverſaries; no one would have anſwered what few would have read; ſince a cheat exploded is a cheat no more.

But, in his *high-blown* pride, he was little ſolicitous to diſſemble his *free contempt* for thoſe, who, for a time, thought differently from him on diſputable points; while they were influenced by reaſonings, which will not ſoon be confuted. He was, by thoſe motives, induced to ſcatter his *wilful abuſe*, with a ready pen, throughout *his Inquiry*, againſt thoſe, whom he terms "partizans of fraud," "ringleaders of impoſition," "hardened offenders;" thus, *turning his pens to lances*; and, by a *ſcornful rhime*, endeavouring to make their names *fixed figures for the time of ſcorn, to point his ſlow unmoving finger at.* Amidſt this *tempeſt of provocation*, he ſent them a *roiſting challenge* to defend, or retract, their opinions; thinking, doubtleſs, *to ſtrike amazement to their drowſy ſpirits.*

The Believers, indeed, felt, that *extremity is the trier of ſpirits.* Nevertheleſs; as men attacked, they merely act on the

the defenſive, in making this *Apology*; as Engliſhmen, who had received many a blow, they, in their *deſperate turn*, barely ſend back his arrows, but without their venom; and as ſcholars, antiquaries, and heralds, they only act agreeably to their *charter*, and *their cuſtomary rights*, when they reſiſt the tyranny of a Dictator in the republic of letters; without vindicating the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, which they acknowledge to be ſpurious: yet; they do not admit Mr. Malone's principle, that our whole *Archæology* may be miſrepreſented, for the purpoſe of detecting a literary fraud; nor, do they allow, that the ſaid republic ought to be invaded in its limits, or diſturbed in its quiet, by his diſcharge of *this inundation of miſtempered humour*, for the gratification of an *indiſcreet zeal*.

They will only add what Johnſon remarked of Hanmer: BUT, I MAY, WITHOUT INDECENCY, OBSERVE, THAT NO MAN SHOULD ATTEMPT TO TEACH WHAT HE HAS NEVER LEARNED HIMSELF.

[MACBETH. MDCCXLV.]

POSTSCRIPT:

The ſtamp in the Title-page ſhows to the curious eye *the arms of the Revels:* and, the *Tail-piece* exhibits to the inquiſitive dramatiſt the ſeal of the office of the Revels, during the reigns of five ſovereigns, under the KILLIGREWS.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

BELIEVERS

OF THE

SHAKSPEARE-PAPERS.

I HAVE the honour to appear at the bar of this critical (*a*) court; in order to ſhew cauſe, why an information ſhall not be filed, by the public accuſer, againſt the believers of the papers, which have been attributed to Shakſpeare, for having committed the aggravated crimes of being "the credulous "partizans of folly and (*b*) impoſture;" of thinking for themſelves; and judging from

(*a*) See *the Seſſion of the Poets*, in the State Poems, 1703, vol. i. p. 206.

> Apollo, concern'd to ſee the tranſgreſſions,
> That our paultry ſcribblers daily commit,
> Gave orders once more to ſummon a ſeſſions,
> Severely to puniſh the abuſes of wit.

(*b*) Mal. Inquiry, 366.

evidence. I am not, however, inſtructed by thoſe believers, who certified, under their hands, the genuineneſs of thoſe Shakſpeariana: Nor, am I inſtructed by thoſe believers, who retain their original belief to the preſent day. Such being the parties; I will proceed, if this court will grant me its indulgent attention, and favour me with its accuſtomed patience, to ſhow cauſe why an information ſhould not be filed againſt thoſe believers, who, claiming the right of fair diſcuſſion, and of free exemption from the authority of a dictator, within the republic of letters, are ambitious of appearing in this enlightened preſence, without being deemed "ſome untu-" tor'd youths, unſkilful in the world's falſe " forgeries."

— § I. —

The GENERAL ARGUMENT.

Of Shakspeare, it cannot be aſſerted, as of conquerors, in every period, that *he left a name, at which the world grew pale.* Shakſpeare was the delight of his own time; and became the admiration of after-ages. He was born on the 23d of April 1564, a day, propitious to genius, fortunate for our iſland, and

happy for mankind. He was produced in the gay ſeaſon of nature, during a reſplendent reign of genius and talents. Nor, did Shakſpeare conteſt the palm of poetry with "puny "powers:" He roſe to the higheſt eminence, after a ſtrenuous competition with ſome of the greateſt poets, which any clime had produced, in any age. The nation, at length, claimed him as her own. And, Engliſhmen, when they travelled amongſt the lettered inhabitants of the Continent, valued themſelves, and were valued by others, as the countrymen of Shakſpeare. Whoever, then, offers a purpoſed diſhonour to Shakſpeare, commits a national offence. And he, who deſignedly publiſhes ſpurious papers, as the real productions of Shakſpeare, does him real diſhonour. I am, therefore, ready to admit, that the partizans of ſuch "folly and impoſture," if ſuch there be, ought to be proceeded againſt, in this court, as

"———— againſt feats,
"So crimeful, and ſo capital in nature.

Yet, he, who aſſumes the character of a public accuſer, ought not to commit *crimeful feats* himſelf. From him, fairneſs of proceeding, whilſt detecting foulneſs, and candour of repreſentation, whilſt proſecuting impoſi-

tion, were to be expected (*c*). Of all others, he ought not to accuſe thoſe, whom he has himſelf led to the tranſgreſſion: He ought not, in this equitable court, *to take advantage of his own wrong*, in moving for an information againſt them; who, in forming their judgment of the authenticity of the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, which were offered to their tranſient inſpection, as the genuine writings of Shakſpeare, only drew a fair deduction from the previous arguments of the public accuſer: He had diligently ſhown (*d*) that, in the archives of Shakſpeare's deſcendants, ſome of his fragments may yet be found; and from this information, the believers inferred, that theſe might probably be the expected fragments: The public ac-

(*c*) The candour of Mr. Malone began to ſlumber in the ſixth page of his Inquiry. By ſuppreſſing the qualifying words of the Prefacer to the "MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS," namely, "As far as he has been able to collect the ſenti-"ments of the before-mentioned men of taſte, antiquaries, "and heralds," the public accuſer has given that qualified aſſertion of unanimity an untrue direction; and thereby miſrepreſented the Prefacer, and conſequently injured the men of taſte, antiquaries, and heralds, who had inſpected the papers, and had delivered their ſentiments, with a greater, or a leſs, degree of reſerve.

(*d*) Shakſ. Edit. 1790, vol. i. p. 41.

cuſer

cuſer had actually publiſhed *the declaration of faith of John Shakſpeare*, which had been diſcovered in the houſe of (*e*) Shakſpeare; and the believers, when they beheld *Shakſpeare's profeſſion of faith*, naturally concluded that, in a religious age, a pious poet might have followed the example of his fathers. Mr. Malone ſtill (*f*) inſiſts, that fragments of Shakſpeare may even now be found; becauſe every circumſtance about that illuſtrious poet has been diſcovered, either by the efforts of diligence, or by the accidents of chance: Yet, he ſcoffs at thoſe "profound ſcholars, antiquaries, and heralds," who are ſo credulous as to believe upon his predictions; and, however diſappointed by his declarations, and retractions;

"Yet hope, would fain ſubſcribe, and tempt belief.'

The literary world had not been troubled with the ſcoffs of Mr. Malone, had his candour of inquiry, and powers of ratiocination, been equal to his activity of reſearch; becauſe he would have ſeen, that the facts, which he had, with diligence, aſcertained, led inquiſitive men to infer from them, that much was ſtill

(*e*) Ib. vol. ii. p. 298.

(*f*) Advertiſement, annexed to his Inquiry.

to be found, with regard to Shakſpeare, by ſimilar diligence, and lucky accidents. The active editor had thus ſhewn, that Shakſpeare died, at the age of fifty-two, on the 23d of April 1616; leaving his daughter Suſanna, and her huſband, Doctor John Hall, his executors: Now, the will demonſtrates, that he died poſſeſſed of baubles, gewgaws, and toys to mock apes. Doctor Hall died, on the 25th of November 1635; leaving a nuncupative will, whereby he bequeathed his library, and manuſcripts, to Thomas Naſh, who had married his daughter, Elizabeth: Here, then, is ſufficient proof, that Doctor Hall, the executor of Shakſpeare, left a library, and manuſcripts, behind him. Suſanna, the widow of Doctor Hall, and the daughter of Shakſpeare, adminiſtered on his eſtate, and lived to the 11th of September 1649. Thomas Naſh, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Doctor Hall, died on the 4th of April 1647, without iſſue, by the granddaughter of Shakſpeare; but appointed her his executrix, and reſiduary legatee. After marrying Sir John Barnard, Elizabeth Naſh died at Abington, about the 17th of February 1669-70, in full poſſeſſion of *Newplace*, her grandfather's dwelling;

dwelling; and left her kinſman, Edward Bagley, ſole executor of her will. Sir John, who ſeems not to have been very proud of the honours of his unfruitful marriage with Shakſpeare's grand-daughter, died in March 167$\frac{3}{4}$; and dying without a will, adminiſtration was granted on his eſtate the 7th of November 1674, to Henry Gilbert of Locko, in the county of Derby, who had married his daughter Elizabeth, by a former marriage. In this ſatisfactory manner, has Mr. Malone traced down, from the public records, the legal tranſmiſſion of the perſonal property of Shakſpeare's deſcendants, including his books and papers, to a recent period (*g*). And from this accurate hiſtory, he reaſonably infers, that amongſt the deſcendants of Bagley, or of Barnard, ſome fragments of Shakſpeare may even yet be found, if curioſity would prompt diligence to ſearch the repoſitories of concealment. Thus ſucceſsful was Mr. Malone, in awakening attention, and raiſing hope. When the believers look back upon the paſt, and forward to the future, they may

(*g*) Vid. Mal. Shakſ. 1790. vol. i. p. 123-139, in the Notes on the Life of Shakſpeare.

obſerve, with Shakſpeare, on the ſcore of expected fragments;

" ——— *The reſt,*
" That are within the note of *expectation,*
" Already are i' th' court."

From the appearance of Mr. Malone's Shakſpeare, in 1790,——

" —— Every moment was *expectancy* of more *arrivance.*"

In fact, diſcovery ſucceeded diſcovery, with the natural re-production of the ſeaſons. Every admirer of Shakſpeare was ambitious to poſſeſs ſome relick. Mr. Malone, with the good ſucceſs, which generally attends beſt endeavours, obtained documents enough to fill a folio. Meantime, a painting of Shakſpeare was found; the very painting, as it ſeems, that enabled Droeſhout to engrave " the fi-
" gure of Shakſpeare," which was prefixed to the folio editions of his dramas; and of which Ben Jonſon affirmed, that,

" —— the graver had a ſtriſe
" With nature to outdo the life."

The oaken board, whereon the gentle Shakſpeare is pourtrayed; the inſcription of the poet's name, by a contemporary hand; the correſponding likeneſs between the original painting and the exiſting print of Droeſhout; the corroborating evidence of Ben Jonſon,

who

who had compared "the figure" with the man; all concur to evince the genuineneſs of this ancient painting. Were we to conſider *the argument*, without indulging prepoſſeſſion, or referring to connoiſſeurs, the authenticity would be readily acknowledged by all judges of evidence, except indeed by thoſe, "who al-"low to *poſſibilities* the influence of facts" (*b*). Yet, Mr. Malone perſeveres, *in grappling to his heart, with hooks of ſteel*, "the unauthenti-"cated purchaſe of Mr. Keck, from the "dreſſing-room of a modern actreſs:" For, it is a part of his philoſophy *to allow to poſſibilities the influence of facts.*

While the admirers of Shakſpeare were worſhiping *the God of their idolatry*, in Caſtle-ſtreet, a new diſcovery of SHAKSPEARIANA was announced, in Norfolk-ſtreet. Curioſity was again rouſed; and once more gratified, in a greater, or a leſs, proportion; as zeal was ſatisfied, or frigidity warmed. Whether *Idolatry*, and *Credulity*, be couſins in the firſt, or ſecond, degree, muſt be left to the deciſion of thoſe critics, "who have read Alexander Roſs "over." It is ſufficient for me to maintain, that the rational believers navigated their northern bark, on this Argonautic expedition,

(*b*) See Mr. Steevens's Satisfactory Diſſertation, in the European Mag. October 1794, &c.

with

with ſcientific ſkill; ſhunning the Charybdis of credulity, on the one quarter, and the Scylla of ſuſpicion, on the other.

To the inquiſitive ſearchers after *truth*, the great object of their *voyage*, there were produced title-deeds; written aſſurances, and receipts; letters of royal, and noble, perſonages; ſignatures, and writings, of Shakſpeare; and, with other documents, engravings of dramatic characters. In order to ſatisfy themſelves of the authenticity of thoſe Shakſpeariana, they applied to them, in forming their judgments, the ſame rules of evidence, which direct the affairs of life; which govern in the diſtribution of juſtice; which comfort in the momentous concerns of religion. In theſe intereſting objects, mankind act only on calculations of *probability*; diſregarding *poſſibilities*. From the never-failing recurrence of the ſeaſons, men naturally expect the uſual ſucceſſion of the ſpring to the winter, of ſummer to the ſpring, of autumn to the ſummer, and of winter to the autumn, attended with their happy effects, in the accuſtomed order: Hence, mankind reaſonably expect, that the events, which uſually happen, will probably happen again: And, as recent diſcoveries had ſhewn, that fragments of Shakſpeare, having lately been found, were likely again to be met with,

in

in the courſe of reſearch; the inquirers after truth logically inferred, that they had diſcovered, in thoſe Shakſpeariana, the objects of their ſearch; believing, with Beattie, "that "things are, as our ſenſes repreſent them" (*i*).

On theſe principles of common ſenſe, which induce us, in matters of evidence, to truſt to our hearing, ſeeing, touching, taſting, and ſmelling, men, women, and children, act in "daily life;" regarding *probability*; and diſregarding *poſſibility*. Never was any man prevented from buying a houſe; becauſe it was objected, that it would, *poſſibly*, fall; knowing, from the view thereof, that it would, *probably*, ſtand, during the intended period of its duration. Never was any woman ſtopped from gadding, in queſt of pleaſure, by an objection of the *poſſibility* of meeting with misfortune; becauſe ſhe inferred, from the ready calculation of *probabilities*, that, having always returned ſafe from ſimilar excurſions, ſhe ſhould again return, without meeting with misfortune. Never was any child hindered from play, by warnings of danger; becauſe he knew, from the *probabilities* of his boyiſh experience, that having often played, without harm, there was but little *probability* of harm.

(*i*) Eſſay on Truth, 63.

It

It is, then, from this *probability*, the reſult of experience, that mankind calculate, with intuitive promptitude, the *probabilities* of daily life; without troubling themſelves with the *poſſibilities* of accidental occurrences: And, therefore, the ſearchers after truth calculated the probabilities of truth, or of falſehood, in favour of the Shakſpeariana; knowing, that the poſſibility of fraud was a weak objection, which proceeded either from prepoſſeſſion, or indifference, the great obſtructers of free inquiry.

On thoſe principles, our courts of juſtice adminiſter right to contending parties. The judges, knowing, that controverſies could never be determined, if *poſſibility of error* were admitted as an objection to the progreſs of juſtice, diſtribute law, and equity, from the *probabilities* of truth; and, when they have obliged the complainants to produce the beſt evidence, which the nature of the caſe will admit, and which is in the power of the party to give, proceed to a deciſion, on a probable preſumption of right; being warned by experience, that demonſtration ſeldom attends the adminiſtration of juſtice, whatever any one may ſee, with jaundiced eye, or apprehend, from perverted underſtanding. This was the

opinion

opinion of the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, the great master of the law of evidence; though the public accuser has misrepresented his sentiments, by suppressing his context. With the leave of this court, I will transcribe into the note the whole (*k*) passage; in order to do

(*k*) The following passage is transcribed from the fourth Edition of *The Law of Evidence*, corrected, p. 1.—5.

" The first thing," says the Chief Baron Gilbert, " to " be treated of, is the evidence, that ought to be offered to " the jury, and by what rules of PROBABILITY it ought " to be weighed, and considered.—In the first place, it has " been considered by a very learned man (Mr. Locke) " that there are several degrees, from perfect certainty and " demonstration, quite down to improbability, and unlike- " liness, even to the confines of impossibility; and there " are several acts of the mind proportioned to these de- " grees of evidence, which may be called the degrees " of assent, from full assurance, and confidence, quite " down to conjecture, doubt, distrust, and disbelief.— " Now, what is to be done, in all trials of right, is " to range all matters in the scale of PROBABILITY; so " as to lay most weight, where the cause ought to pre- " ponderate; and thereby, to make the most exact dis- " cernment, that can be, in relation to the right.— " Now, to come to the true knowledge of the nature of " PROBABILITY, it is necessary to look a little higher, " and to see what certainty is, and whence it arises.

" —All certainty is a clear and distinct perception, and " all clear and distinct perceptions depend upon a man's " own proper senses: For, this, in the first place is cer- " tain, and that, which we cannot doubt of, if we would,

" that

do juſtice to that learned judge; to confute his opponent; and to ſupport the truth. Thus

" that one perception, or idea, is not another; that one man " is not another: and, when perceptions are thus diſtin- " guiſhed on the firſt view, it is called ſelf evidence, or " intuitive knowledge.—There are ſome other things, " whoſe agreement, or difference, is not known on the " view; and then we compare them by the means of ſome " third matter, by which we come to meaſure their agree- " ment, diſagreement, or relation.—As if the queſtion be, " whether certain land be the land of J. S. or J. N. and " a record be produced, whereby the land appears to be " transferred from J. S. to J. N: Now, when we ſhew " any ſuch third perception, and that doth neceſſarily " infer the relation in queſtion, this is called knowledge by " demonſtration. The way of knowledge by neceſſary in- " ference is certainly the higheſt and cleareſt knowledge, " that mankind is capable of in his way of reaſoning; and " therefore, always to be ſought, when it may be had.— " Demonſtration is generally converſant about permanent " things, which being conſtantly obvious to our ſenſes, do " afford to them a very clear, and diſtinct compariſon: " But, tranſient things, that cannot always occur to our " ſenſes, are generally more obſcure; becauſe they have no " conſtant being, but muſt be retrieved by memory, and " recollection.—Now, moſt of the buſineſs of civil life " ſubſiſts on the actions of men, that are tranſient things; " and therefore oftentimes are not capable of ſtrict demon- " ſtration, which, as I ſaid, is founded on the view of our " ſenſes; and therefore, *the rights of men muſt be determined* " *by* PROBABILITY.—Now, as all demonſtration is founded " on the view of a man's own proper ſenſes, by a gradation " of clear and diſtinct perceptions; ſo all PROBABILITY " is founded upon obſcure and indiſtinct views, or upon

" report

Thus clear, and satisfactory is the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, when his opinion is quoted, as it ought to be, with the context, which exhibits to the eye, and impresses on the understanding, a very different train of reasoning

" report from the sight of others.—Now, this, in the first " place is very plain, that when we cannot hear, or see, any " thing ourselves, and yet are obliged to make a judgment " of it, we must see and hear by report from others; which " is one step further from demonstration, which is founded " upon the view of our senses; and yet, there is that faith " and credit to be given to the honesty and integrity of " credible and disinterested witnesses, attesting any fact " under the solemnities and obligations of religion, and the " dangers and penalties of perjury, that the mind equally " acquiesces therein, as on a knowledge by demonstration: " For, it cannot have any more reason to be doubted than if " we ourselves had heard and seen it: And this is the original " of trials, and all manner of evidence.—The first, " therefore, and most signal rule, in relation to evidence, " is this, that a man must have the utmost evidence, the " nature of the fact is capable of: For, the design of the " law is to come to rigid demonstration in matters of right, " and there can be no demonstration of a fact, without the " best evidence, that the nature of the thing is capable of: " Less evidence doth but create opinion and surmise, and " does not leave a man the entire satisfaction, that arises " from demonstration: For, if it be plainly seen in the na- " ture of a transaction, that there is some more evidence, " that doth not appear, the very not producing it is a pre- " sumption that it would have detected something more " than appears already; and therefore the mind does not " acquiesce in any thing lower than the utmost evidence, " that the fact is capable of."

ing from the wild position of Mr. Malone, which evaporates, when truth appears with "the sacred radiance of the sun."

Misapprehending thus, the chief Baron's real sentiments, the public accuser would inculcate, that, when any new-found writings of a dead poet are offered to our view, nothing short of *rigid demonstration* ought to satisfy us of their real authenticity. But, he discovers little philosophy, and less candour, when he catches at an exaggerated expression of the learned judge, which cannot be defended in its whole extent. Every one, who has attended to the workings of his own mind, or listened to the voice of daily experience, must clearly perceive, that rigid demonstration can only be found in the higher sciences. The learned judge meant nothing more by his strong expression, as the context shows, than the highest evidence, which the nature of different cases can fairly afford. The evidence of the senses, subject as they are to error, from natural imperfections, do not furnish demonstrations of a fact (*l*): The

(*l*) We all remember the occurrence of a late serjeant at law, who, though he certainly knew the rules of evidence, was yet sadly mistaken in supposing, that the senses furnish *demonstration*, with regard to the identity of a robber.

evidence

evidence of the ſenſes only ſupplies the underſtanding with proofs of high probability; with ſuch certainty, as produces conviction (*m*). And, the courts of law ſeldom attain to a more perfect degree of proof, by which right is eſtimated, and juſtice adminiſtered. Such was the opinion of the Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, when he ſtated "What is to be done, in trials "of right, which is to range matters in the ſcale "of *probability*; ſo as to lay moſt weight, where "the cauſe ought to preponderate (*n*)." And, in this manner, we ſee this great judge, and the public accuſer, ſtand oppoſed to each other, in their opinions of evidence; while the believers acted, according to the judgment of the chief baron, in weighing the Shakſpeariana in the ſcale of probability.

It is, however, true, as Gilbert taught, as Blackſtone repeated, and as the public accuſer re-echoes, that, in all law proceedings, the beſt evidence, which the nature of the caſe admits; and which is in the power of the party to give; ought to be produced, when it is required. Now, in our caſe, ſuch evidence was offered to the examination of

(*m*) See Beattie's Eſſay on Truth, 63-69.

(*n*) Law of Evidence, p. 2.

S-

the ſenſes: *Originals* were produced, not *copies*; ancient documents, purporting to be genuine papers; parchment deeds, with their accuſtomed ſeals, which, when they have defied time for *forty years*, are allowed to prove themſelves, in courts of law; to be ſuch proofs, as require no additional proofs to authenticate them (*o*). Legal, or admiſſible evidence, that is, ſuch proofs, as would be admitted in forenſic proceedings, were exhibited to the ſenſes, with a fair appeal to the conviction of the beholders. Had there been an iſſue joined, in Weſtminſter Hall, on the ſignatures of Shakſpeare, and Heminges, compariſon of hands would have been admitted as adequate proof, in a *civil caſe*, of the authenticity of their writing: For, *id eſt certum, quod certum reddi poteſt*; and from one certainty, another may be (*p*) deduced; the *fac*

(*o*) Law of Evidence, p. 94.

(*p*) I was preſent, when the genuine deed of John Heminges, which is printed by Mr. Malone in The Inquiry, p. 409, was produced in evidence; when there was produced, at the ſame time, a black-letter pamphlet, having the name "John Heminges" written at the top of the title page, ſo like, as to be a perfect *fac ſimile*; and, at the bottom of the ſame page, was written the name "W^m. Shakſpeare": On the back of the title-page was written: "This was the book of John Heminges, which he "gave

fac ſimiles induce a preſumption, that the undoubted ſignature, and the ſuppoſed ſignature, were written by the ſame hand; and every preſumption is evidence till the contrary is made apparent: Now, every preſumption, that remains unconteſted, hath the force of evidence, ſaith Lord Chief Baron (*q*) Gilbert; as light proof, on one ſide, will outweigh defective proof, on the other ſide. Of the ſame opinion was Wilkins, when he reaſoned in the following manner: "Things of ſeve-

"gave unto me—W^m. Shakſpeare." Now, had there been *an iſſue*, on an action at law, whether theſe were the ſignatures of Heminges, and of Shakſpeare, the genuine deed of Heminges would have been given in evidence, as the *certainty*, from which the *uncertainty* would have been inferred: Here is legal, or admiſſible proof; and the jury, who had been ſworn to try that iſſue, *according to the evidence given them*, muſt have delivered their verdict for the genuineneſs of the ſignatures of Heminges, and Shakſpeare, on the black-letter pamphlet before mentioned. This example proves how difficult it is to detect ſome forgeries by fair diſcuſſion. Firſt; I believe, that the deed of Heminges is genuine: Secondly; I believe, that the ſignature of Heminges, on the black-letter pamphlet, was copied by the pen of a forger from the real ſignature, on the deed; and that the ſignature of Shakſpeare was copied by the ſame pen, from fancy, in ſome meaſure: Yet; am I of opinion, that theſe forgeries cannot be detected by fair diſcuſſion.

(*q*) Law of Evidence, p. 53-4.

" ral kinds may admit, and require, ſeveral " ſorts of proofs, all which may be good in " their kinds: And, therefore, nothing can " be more irrational, than for a man to " doubt of, or deny, the truth of any thing; " becauſe it cannot be made out by ſuch " kind of proofs, of which the nature of ſuch " a thing is not capable."

Theſe reaſonings apply ſtill more forcibly to religion, than to law. The leading articles of our faith do not admit of rigid demonſtration. Rational probability is, in theſe, the ſtrongeſt proof, which can be given to induce belief; to animate our hopes; or to excite our fears; without deluding our underſtandings with the ſuggeſtions of *poſſibility*, or entangling our conviction with the ſophiſms of infidelity. " A bare poſſibility," ſaith Tillotſon, " that a thing may be, or " not be, is no juſt cauſe of doubt, whether " a thing be, or not."

Yet, Mr. Malone reaſons very differently. He avows himſelf to be a ſturdy Carteſian, in his philoſophical inquiries. Like a true diſciple, he begins with doubting: He doubts every thing, of which it is poſſible to doubt, and perſuades himſelf, that every thing is falſe, which can poſſibly be conceived to be doubtful.

doubtful (*r*). In purſuance of ſuch principles, he will not (*ſ*) allow, "that thoſe ancient "manuſcripts can be entitled even to an ex-"amination," till he has been told the tale of their diſcovery. According to his philoſophy, he will not examine any of the qualities of matter, till he has learned, from authority, how it was produced. He will not trouble himſelf about "the great globe itſelf, yea, "and all which it inherit," unleſs he be informed, when, where, and by whom, they were created. It is not, then, ſurpriſing, that he will not look upon a manuſcript till he has been told, by what hand it was written, and on what occaſion; by what good fortune it was preſerved, and by what lucky accident it was found. If Bodley, and Cotton, Harley, and Sloane, had been directed by his maxims, how many manuſcripts would have been kept from our ſight; and how much knowledge would have been loſt to the world. The truth is, which is ever the beſt excuſe, as a Carteſian, he doubts of every thing, except, that *he thinks*; that he argues more rationally—than Tillotſon, and Wilkins.

The public accuſer carries his Carteſian

(*r*) See Beattie on Truth, 218. (*ſ*) Inquiry, 15.

principles into the usual practice of the courts of law. Were he placed in the chair of the Chief Baron, he would not admit, as evidence in itself, an ancient deed, though it had out-lived its century, without witnesses to prove its creation, and an historian to relate the progress of its transmission. He would not allow, in civil suits, comparison of hands, as admissible evidence. And, in criminal cases, he would, *in limine*, presume fraud, as a general principle, and infer guilt, from the first appearance of the party. The transition is, indeed, natural, from being the disciple of Des Cartes, to become a believer with Berkeley: For, the change of scepticism is easy: From doubting all things, it was to be expected, that Mr. Malone would deny the existence of matter: Hence it is, by a consecutive transition, that he disregards the parchment, the tags, and the seals, of deeds, as non-existent matter, though it is from these adjuncts, that other judges distinguish, as with a touch-stone, the several documents of business, and class into their useful varieties the *common assurances* of *daily life*. The final consequences of scepticism, as Beattie has shown, are, to puzzle the understanding, and to harden the heart. It is from this source of error, that the public accuser

confounds

confounds the *external*, with the *internal*, evidence; conſidering the parchment, and the ſeals, as internal evidence, in as high a degree as the ſtyle, and the (*t*) ſentiment; and confounding, with an unpropitious temper, the *matter*, and the *ſpirit*: Neither the labels, nor the ſeals, the faded ink, nor the diſcoloured paper, are *external evidence*, according to his juridical code (*u*). Being thus entangled, by his ſcepticiſm, in a maze of error, he infers himſelf, and would perſuade the reader to infer, that the *binding* is of the eſſence of a book: And,

"Puzzled in mazes, and perplex'd with error,"

the public accuſer confounds the labours of the paper-maker, and printer, of the bookbinder, and embelliſher, with the poetic fiction, the appropriate ſentiment, and the energetic ſtyle of Shakſpeare, in the moſt elaborate of his dramas. But, fair inquirers, beholding ſcepticiſm, as the *cauſe*, and *perplexity*, as the *conſequence*, may well cry out with Young;

"Truth ſtrikes each point with native force of mind,
"While puzzl'd learning blunders far behind."

The other concomitant of ſcepticiſm is hardneſs of heart. The neceſſary conſequence

(*t*) Inquiry, 17. (*u*) Id.

of this evil quality is, to repreſs curioſity, which is natural to mankind; and which is the ſpring of ſome profit to a few, and the ſource of much pleaſure to all. We can now trace the cauſe to its true origin, why Mr. Malone, who had taken ſo many weary ſteps, in ſearch of Shakſpeariana, and had raiſed, by his labours, the expectation of others, made not one effort to ſee the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, in Norfolk-ſtreet. He remained in Queen Ann-ſtreet-Eaſt, fettered with *doctrine*, "Which, unto fools, ſaith the preacher, is as "fetters on the feet." He was thus content to (*x*) learn, with ſurpriſe, indeed, "from the "information of various intelligent perſons "who had viewed and examined the ſuppoſed "originals, that every date affixed to theſe pa-"pers, and almoſt every fact mentioned in "them, were alike inconſiſtent with the hiſ-"tory of the time and with all the ancient "documents of which I was poſſeſſed (*y*)." In this repreſentation, an accurate eye may perceive, what Dryden calls "a ſophiſticated "truth with an allay of lye in it. With this *ſophiſticated truth*, however, was the public

(*x*) Inquiry, 4.

(*y*) I have pointed this paſſage, as it is pointed by the great critic himſelf; and, indeed, as all quotations ought to be.

accuſer

accuſer content, though he is not content to keep it to himſelf. He comes, wildly, into this enlightened court, to maintain, that ſecond-hand evidence is as good as the beſt; and that the ſtories of *ſophiſticated truth* are as much to be believed as the informations of the ſenſes. His *ſcepticiſm* diſdains the old adage, that *ſeeing is believing:* And, his *contempt* ſcoffs at thoſe ſcholars, antiquaries, and heralds, who formed their belief, as every inveſtigation ought to be, rather from the evidence of the ſenſes, than the gloſs of ſophiſtry. From this view of his theory, and his practice, this critical court may fitly apply to the public accuſer, who avows ſuch doctrines, and maintains ſuch poſitions, what Shakſpeare ſaid upon another occaſion:

"Cry the man mercy, love him, take his offer;
"Foul is the moſt foul; *being found to be a ſcoffer.*"

If there be perſpicuity in method, I would illuſtrate the darker parts of this intereſting diſquiſition, by dividing the ſtory of the Shakſpeariana into three periods: The 1ſt. From the diſcovery, in February, to the publication of the papers, on the 24th of December 1795; the 2d, from that epoch to the production of Mr. Malone's *Inquiry*, two days before the condemnation of Vortigern; and the 3d, from that period to the preſent.

1ſt. During

1ſt. During the firſt period, it will be found, that the advantage of argument lay wholly on the ſide of the believers. They carried with them the probability, which Mr. Malone's previous inveſtigations had eſtabliſhed, for proving the exiſtence of ſuch documents. There were offered to their inſpection, as confirmations of that probability, ancient deeds, which would be admitted in our courts of juſtice, as proofs, that vindicate their own authenticity. Written documents were ſhown, which, by compariſon of hands, might be converted into legal evidence. The variety, and number, of the papers, gave additional authority to the general preſumption, by leſſening the poſſibility of fraud. And, collateral circumſtances, or extrinſic evidence, were found, to add ſtrong confirmations to the previous probability of the exiſtence of ſuch fragments. Now, the Chief Baron Gilbert will teach the public accuſer, that ſome proof is more ſatisfactory than none; that a weak preſumption muſt be allowed a juſt portion of evidence, till it is overpowered by a ſtronger preſumption, which induces a new belief; that objections of *poſſibility* ought not to be admitted, in argument, againſt the convictions of *probability*; and that ſuſpicions of

fraud

fraud cannot be allowed, to weigh down presumptions of *fairneſs*. On the other hand, what had Mr. Malone, during the firſt period, to oppoſe to theſe reaſonings, and to thoſe facts? He had an indifference, which ſtifled his curioſity. He was indifferent about the Shakſpeariana in Norfolk-ſtreet; becauſe he had been told, by travellers, tales "of antres vaſt, "and deſarts idle:" He made little effort to ſee them; fearing leſt his inſpection ſhould authenticate them; leſt his examination ſhould clear the dark, and confirm the doubtful: So, he reſolved "to be a candle-holder, and look "on;" threatening, however, to accuſe, and preparing, diligently, to croſs-examine, when publication ſhould furniſh matter, and give him a pretence. He was urged, meanwhile, by his ſcepticiſm to contradict the probability, which he had taught the inquiſitive world to entertain, in favour of the diſcovery of the fragments of Shakſpeare, either from Bagley, or from Barnard. In this temper, was he carried forward by *his theory* to contend, during the firſt period, againſt Hooker, that *no truth can contradict any truth*.

2. Thus deciſive was the *general argument*, in favour of *the Believers*, during the whole of the

the firſt period. We are now about to enter on the ſecond of the propoſed periods, at the epoch of the expected publication. The day came at laſt, which relieved the public accuſer from his embarraſsments, when the MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS were ſent into the *cold world*, from Norfolk-ſtreet. Contradictory tales were now neither heard, nor told, by "ſtrenuous partizans," on either ſide. The cavils of *poſſibility*, which Tillotſon had exploded, as inadmiſſible, in argument, vaniſhed into air; into *thin air*. And, the various objections, which, during the firſt period, had excited contempt by their folly, or laughter by their levity, were diſmiſſed, during the ſecond period, to ſerve a ſimilar turn, on ſome leſs lucky day:

"Soon to that maſs of nonſenſe to return;
"Where things deſtroy'd are ſwept to things unborn."

The publication of the *Miſcellaneous Papers* was extremely favourable both to the believers, and to the unbelievers. The believers were now furniſhed with the means, which they wanted before, of carrying their general reaſonings into minute inſpection: And, many were convinced, by that inſpection, and believed no more. On the other hand, the impugners of *thoſe papers*, who would not inſpect the originals, had now

an

an opportunity to examine the copies, which only ſupplied a ſecond-rate evidence. Objections of a new form, and of a very different import, were at length framed, by very different minds, and urged, with very different aims. The minor critics ſucceſſively appeared with their *Letters*, their *Free Reflections*, and their *Familiar Verſes*. But, the world waited with anxious ſuſpenſe, for the appearance of the public accuſer himſelf, who, for many a month, with threatening tone, had avowed his purpoſe, to detect what he would not condeſcend to inſpect:—

" — All eyes direct their rays
" On him, and crowds turn coxcombs, as they gaze."

He now (*x*) undertook, without examining the originals, " to prove, from 1. the ortho-" graphy, 2. the phraſeology, 3. the dates " given or deducible by inference, and 4. " the diſſimilitude of the hand-writing, that " not a ſingle paper or deed in this extraordi-" nary volume was written or executed by " the perſon to whom it is aſcribed (*a*)." Yet, none of theſe propoſitions could, in any degree,

(*x*) Inquiry, p. 22-3.

(*a*) I quote this paſſage, pointed as it is, deſignedly, by this maſter of criticiſm, in order to ſhow his accurate knowledge of that uſeful branch of critical ſcience,

have

have been eſtabliſhed by him, who was content with ſecondary evidence, after calling for rigid demonſtration, if thoſe *papers* had not been publiſhed; ſince, without inſpection, there could be no examination. The publication, then, was of great conſequence to him, and alſo of eſſential uſe to the world. And, the ſubſcribers, who contributed their money, for the neceſſary expence, thereby performed an important ſervice to SHAKSPEARE, and to TRUTH. Yet, the public accuſer is too buſy with his project of detection to thank the admirers of Shakſpeare, and lovers of truth, for their liberality: And, as *gentle dulneſs ever loves a joke*, he is, ever and anon, breaking his jeſts upon their *folly*, and *credulity*, in acting without his conſent, and believing without his inſtruction; though without accompliſhing his jocund purpoſe of *ſetting the table in a roar*. Such dulneſs, and ſuch jokes, may, perhaps, provoke the ſubſcribers to exclaim, with Marſton (*b*):

" Tut, tut, a toy of an empty brain,
" Some ſcurrill jeſts, light gewgaws, fruitleſſe, vaine."

Knowing, however, while thus occupied with his *light gewgaws*, that the poſitive praiſe of one, may reflect indirect cenſure on many;

(*b*) In the Scourge of Villanie, 1599.

Mr.

Mr. Malone brings his twenty years friend, Lord Charlemont, on the ſtage, to declare, in *terſe Engliſh*, "that if Lord C. had known "as much of it as he now does, he would not "have given either his name or his money to "the publication (*c*)." Nay! Give his name to the publication! Did ever any nobleman before, when ſubſcribing his charitable guinea to a ſcribbler, think himſelf anſwerable for the wit, the truth, or the propriety, of the book?

"Opinion mounts this froth unto the ſkies;
"Which judgements' reaſon juſtly vilifies:
"For, (ſhame to the poet) read NED, behold!
"How *wittily* a Maiſter's-hood can ſcold (*d*)."

3. Thus much, with regard to the ſecond period. We are now to enter on the third of the propoſed periods, from the epoch of *the publication* to the preſent day. While the public accuſer was thus caſting *froth* againſt the wind, he was content to ſacrifice the graces of candour, to relinquiſh the praiſe of liberality, and to enfeeble the ſtrength of conceſſion. He might have conceded, with candour and liberality, to the ſubſcribers, the moſt of whom, during this third period, believed as little as himſelf, that they had done an uſeful

(*c*) Inquiry, p. 1.

(*d*) Marſton's Satire: *Stultorum plena ſunt omnia.*

ſervice

ſervice to Shakſpeare, and to his *Inquiry*, by contributing to the charges of the publication, which enabled the world to ſee, and him to write; and which changed the faith of more believers, than all the objectors, in proſe, or rhyme. He might have conceded to the believers, that the probability was in favour of the Shakſpeariana, on the firſt *ſnatch of ſight*. And, without departing from one of his objections, he might have acknowledged, that the general argument, concluded in favour of the believers, for the authenticity of the imputed papers. After all theſe conceſſions, he might have argued, had he been a logician, that probability muſt give way to abſolute proof; and that general reaſonings muſt evaniſh before the effulgence of ſpecial facts. He might, with a good grace, have told the believers; "I will admit the propriety, and the truth, "of your poſitions; yet, will I demonſtrate, "that your belief is unfounded:" and he might have now thrown in, with effect, his dates, and anachroniſms, his orthographical detections, and theatrical ſtory, his compariſons of ſignatures, and inferences from analogy. But, by delaying the publication of his book till inquiry was uſeleſs; by conceding none of theſe points to the believers; by diſregarding the

ſtrong

ſtrong preſumption of legal evidence; he gave occaſion to judicious men, who had ſtudied the queſtion, to obſerve, that the believers, were led into their error, by *ſyſtem*, while the inquirer himſelf is only right, by *chance*.

Whilſt the believers, during every period of the inveſtigation, were forming their judgments, from the ſatisfactory evidence, which convince mankind, in the intereſting concerns of legal proceedings, *daily life*, and their religious faith; whilſt they were adopting general opinions, from looſe inſpection; whilſt they were believing, from ſeeing; they could only mean to form ſuch judgments, to adopt ſuch opinions, and to entertain ſuch belief, until croſs-examination ſhould ſhow, in the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, inconſiſtency, and anachroniſm; until facts ſhould prove the probability of fiction, and the poſſibility of falſehood; until minute inſpection ſhould diſpel the deceptions of curſory views; and until the refulgence of truth ſhould beam through the clouds of error, which, however they may envelope the learned world, for a while, are ſoon diſpelled by the *gentle guſts* of accurate criticiſm. Certainty, when it appears, will ever be recognized by candour: And, certainty will generally be the reſult of inveſtigation, when inquiry is proſecut-

ed, on ſolid principles, with diligent reſearch.

Such is the preliminary APOLOGY, which the believers ſubmit to this critical court, before they attend the *public accuſer*, in the more minute examination of the MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS, which have been attributed to Shakſpeare.

— § II. —

QUEEN ELIZABETH; AND HER LETTER.

IN making the firſt ſtep of the minute inquiry, to confirm, or confute, the general argument, on the intereſting ſubjects of Queen Elizabeth, and her Letter, we are at once ſtruck with an obſervation, which has already operated as an *apology* for the believers, that the objections made, during the firſt period of inveſtigation, have been relinquiſhed, as indefenſible, during the laſt. To Queen Elizabeth's Letter, it was conſtantly objected, that being a princeſs of a lofty character, *ſhe diſdained to correſpond with much greater men than Shakſpeare.* The believers, knowing the falſity of this aſſumption, laughed at the fallacy of that objection. Mr. Malone *now* paſſes over the fiction, as diſcreditable, and relinquiſhes the argument, as indefenſible: And, like a great general, he covers his retreat from

from an untenable poſt, by giving a high panegyric on the public character of Elizabeth, which no one will diſpute, inſtead of exhibiting her private character, which, as it is ſufficiently known, no one will defend; being forced, by the fact, to give as a trait of manners, "a proof of that condeſcending famili-
" arity by which ſhe won the hearts of her
" people (*a*)."

The ſcholars, and antiquaries, and heralds, who are the objects of Mr. Malone's ſcorn, knew that, in reſpect to Elizabeth's more retired life, and perſonal habits, Lord Orford had pourtrayed (*b*) her; Mr. Hume had deſcribed (*c*) her; and Mr. Whitaker had anatomiſed her (*d*). The believers alſo knew, that Elizabeth correſponded, perſonally, with her ſervants at home, and abroad; ſending, and receiving, letters, in a manner quite contrary to

(*a*) Inquiry, 108.

(*b*) In the Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors; article, *Eſſex*.

(*c*) Hiſtory, vol. v. Note KK. p. 420—526.

(*d*) Vindication of M. Q. of Scots, 2d vol:—" Elizabeth publiſhed the letters aſcribed to Mary, principally to " ruin Mary's character, in point of chaſtity, 450; yet, " Elizabeth was unchaſte, while Mary was not, 450. " Elizabeth pretended to live, and die, a virgin; yet, had " Lord Leiceſter for her paramour, 451-2-4 and 456.— " There is a letter of Mary's concerning Elizabeth's " amours, 456—470—489.—The violent part of Eliza-

to the practice of the preſent times (*e*). They knew, moreover, that ſhe wrote very familiar letters to private perſons; either to promote, or diſcourage, (*f*) matrimony; to condole with favourites on the loſs of parents, and (*g*) children; to inquire after the health of (*h*) ſervants; to return thanks for preſents to (*i*) paramours; or to interfere in the domeſtic affairs of individuals (*j*). There are anecdotes enough, to ſhew how familiar Elizabeth could be, in gratification of her

" beth's character in private live is illuſtrated, 480-81-" 482-3—489-90. Her immodeſty, 500—516—519-" 21. She was a great ſwearer, 408—519. Her va-" nity, 491—98. Niggardly to all, but to paramours," and flatterers, 507-8—519. She had an ulcer in one leg," 484. She was not formed, as other women are, 501-2." Her general character ſummed up, 416-17. Vindicated, 501-2.—See the Index, article, *Elizabeth.*"

(*e*) Forbes's State Papers, every-where.

(*f*) Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. iii. 11—16—65—69.—123-4-6-8.

(*g*) Ib. 24; Cabala, 212—Q. Elizabeth's letter to Lady Norris on the death of her ſon; which begins: " My own " crow—Harm not yourſelf for bootleſs help," &c.—Fuller's Worthies, Oxf. 336.—and ſee Queen Elizabeth's Letters in Mal. Inquiry, 112-13-14.

(*h*) Cat. of R. & N. Authors. vol. i. 132.

(*i*) Lodg. Illuſt. vol. ii. 154: Thanks for preſents to Leiceſter.

(*j*) Lodge—vol. ii. 10—164—219—245—vol. iii. 56; wherein we may ſee, that ſhe took part with Lady Shrewſbury againſt her huſband.

ruling

ruling paſſion: Whenever the Earl of Eſſex put on a fit of ſickneſs, "not a day paſſed," ſays Lord (*k*) Orford, "without the Queen's "ſending frequent meſſages to inquire about "his health; and once went ſo far, as to ſit "long by him, and *order his broths and* "*things.*" When on the verge of three-ſcore-and-ten ſhe acted the hoyden of fifteen. In September 1602, "the young Lady of Darby, "wearing about her neck, in her boſom, a "picture, which was in a dainty tablet, the "Queen eſpying it, aſked what fine jewel "that was. The Lady Darby was curious "to excuſe the ſhewing of itt, but the Queen "would have itt, and opening itt, and fynd-"ing itt to be Mr. Secretarye's, ſnatcht itt "away, and tyed itt upon her ſhoe, and "walked long w^t itt there; and then ſhe took "itt thence, and pinned itt on her elbow, "and wore it ſom tyme there alſo; which "Mr. Secretary being told of, made theſe "verſes, and had Hales to ſing them in his "chamber. Itt was told her Majeſty, that

(*k*) Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors, vol. i. 132. When ſhe heard, that Eſſex was ill, ſhe ſent him word, with tears in her eyes, "that if ſhe might with her honour, ſhe "would viſit him." Ib. 136. When the Vice Chamberlain Hatton was ſick, in 1573, Elizabeth went almoſt every day to ſee how he did.—Lodge's Illuſt. vol. ii. 101.

" Mr. Secretary had rare muſick, and ſongs:
" She would needs hear them; and ſo this
" dittay was ſoung which you ſee firſt
" written. More verſes there be lykewyſe,
" whereof ſom, or all, were lykewyſe ſoung.
" I do boldly ſend theſe verſes to your lord-
" ſhip, which I would not do to any els,
" for I hear they are very ſecrett. Some of
" the verſes argew that he repines not thoghe
" her Majeſty pleaſe to grace others, and con-
" tents himſelf with the favour he hath (*l*)."

(*l*) See Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. iii. 136, William Brown's News-letter to the Earl of Shrewſbury. The young Lady of Darby, who was treated in that manner, was Elizabeth, the eldeſt daughter of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, and the wife of William Earl of Darby: It was Mr. Secretary Cecil's picture, which gave riſe to that flirtation in Queen Beſs, and produced the ſongs, and muſick; to her great divertiſement. Happy! if thoſe ſongs of Mr. Secretary could be retrieved, though it would require *proofs of holy writ* to convince Mr. Malone of their authenticity. The art of that profound ſtateſman is wonderful. Being caught, hanging in the boſom of the young Counteſs, by Elizabeth, and being informed of her freak, he turned the incidents into a ſong: And, while he amuſed the Queen, he took care to diſclaim any greater pretenſions to power, than what he derived from her goodneſs. We ſee, in the midſt of *this joke*, the opinion of that moſt accompliſhed ſtateſman, who was then prime miniſter, with regard to Elizabeth's *jealouſy*, perſonal, and political. If Mr. Secretary Cecil were born, in 1550, he was not *a youth*, in 1602.

With

With ſuch anecdotes the believers were perfectly acquainted, although the public accuſer ſeems to have known nothing of them: And from ſuch documents, they reaſonably inferred, that Elizabeth might probably condeſcend to write ſuch a letter to Shakſpeare; whoſe *prettye verſes* were, no doubt, written with his beſt pen, in his gayeſt fancy, on the encomiaſtic topicks of love, and marriage, with "twenty odd "conceited true-love knots."

But, Mr. Malone is induced by his ſcepticiſm to inſiſt, that the *prettye verſes* of Shakſpeare never exiſted; becauſe he has never ſeen them; and he is incited by a peculiar logic to argue, that whatſoever does not appear to him has never exiſted on earth. Yet, Mr. Secretary Cecil's ſongs on Queen Beſs's frolick, though they were once ſung, are now ſung no more. And the ſonnets of Shakſpeare, which inflamed the deſire, and rouſed the gratitude of Elizabeth, may poſſibly exiſt in the ſame caſket with Cecil's *dittays*, though none of our Cottons, or Harleys, have preſerved them, and none of our Waldrons, or Malones, have found them. Nor, is it unaccountable, that the collectors of papers, and the critics of plays, ſhould have miſſed the *prettye verſes*, which have ſince been found: while ſcepticiſm was ever-and-anon crying out

impoſſible, curioſity loſt her common incentives. The ſcenic ſcholiaſts may characteriſtically cry out with Marcus:

" —— O! brother, ſpeak with *poſſibilities*,
" And do not break into theſe deep extremes."

If we might thus ſpeak with *poſſibilities*, it may be aſſerted, as very probable, that the ſonnets of Shakſpeare, which touched the ruffe, that touched Queen Beſs's chin, may even now exiſt. During her reign, they were handed about in manuſcript (*m*). The Curls of that period were deterred from printing them. Yet, printed they were, in the ſubſequent reign. *Impoſſible*, cries Mr. Malone! On another occaſion, however, he ſhows the poſſibility, though he expreſſes his ſurpriſe, that the editors have not always diſcriminated the ſpurious from the genuine. " Though near a century and a half has elapſed," ſays he, " ſince " the death of (*n*) Shakſpeare, it is ſomewhat " extraordinary, that none of his various editors ſhould have attempted to ſeparate his " genuine poetical compoſitions from the ſpurious performances with which they have " been ſo long intermixed, or taken the trouble to compare them with the earlieſt edi-

(*m*) Mere's *Wit's Treaſury*, 1598, p. 623.

(*n*) Advertiſement, p. iv. to his *Supplement*, 1780.

" tions."

" tions." But, reſearch was long fettered by indifference. At length, Theobald undertook this great (*o*) taſk; but he lived not to perform it. Happily it fell into the abler hands, and under the deeper diſcernment, of Mr. Malone. He will doubtleſs ſeparate the genuine, from the ſpurious compoſitions of Shakſpeare. He has attempted (*p*) this, with great activity of powers, and greater diſcrimination of taſte. He will certainly diſcover the *prettye verſes* of Shakſpeare: Yet, ſtrange to tell! he has ſeen them; he has criticiſed them; but, whatever may be the keenneſs of his eye, or the acuteneſs of his criticiſm, he has not diſcerned them, though he had the daily help of able coadjutors.

But, I will not any longer abuſe the patience of this court. I will no longer conceal the ſecret. The *ſugr'd ſonnets*, of which Meres ſpoke, in (*q*) 1598, and which were firſt printed by Thorpe, in 1609, are the *prettye verſes* of *honeytongu'd* Shakſpeare. *Impoſſible!* cries Mr. Malone, with the monotonous tongue of his own *pretty Poll* (*r*). I will now

(*o*) Preface to his edition, 1740.

(*p*) In his Supplement, 1780.

(*q*) Wit's Treaſury, 623.

(*r*) SCRIBLERUS hath well remarked, that thoſe expreſſions of *pretty Poll* were not applied yeſterday to the mimick bird,

now maintain, to the ſatisfaction of this court, I truſt, that the *ſugr'd ſonnets*, which were handed about, before, and in, the year 1598, among Shakſpeare's private friends, were the very verſes, which he addreſſed to Elizabeth *in his fine filed* (*s*) *phraſe*; that *the* SONNETS of Shakſpeare were addreſſed, by him, to Elizabeth, although I do not mean to

bird, as Mr. Malone would object; but, are as old as the age of Shakſpeare; as John Taylor the water-poet will inform us, epigram 31; "A Rope for Parratt:"

"Why doth the parrat cry, *a rope, a rope?*
"Becauſe hee's cag'd in priſon out of hope.
"Why doth the parrat call *a boate, a boate?*
"It is the humour of his idle note.
"O *pretty* PALL, take heed, beware the cat;
"Let Waterman alone, no more of that:
"Since I ſo idlely heard the parrat talk,
"In his own language, I ſay, *walke, knave, walke.*"

See much learning on this curious ſubject in Grey's Hudibras, vol. i. p. 61: and Warburton's Shakſpeare, vol. iii. p. 253. It is remarkable, that neither of thoſe commentators ſeems to have known of the water-poet's epigram on *pretty Poll.*

(*s*) "To this perſon, whoever he was, [were] one hundred and twenty of the following poems are addreſſed; "the remaining twenty-eight are addreſſed to a lady," ſays Mr. Malone: "Many of them are written to ſhow the propriety of marriage," adds he; "and therefore cannot well "be ſuppoſed to be addreſſed to a ſchool-boy." [Supplement 1780, vol. i. p. 579]. My poſition is, that the ſonnets were all addreſſed to *one perſon.*

contend

contend for the *ſpurious performances* of book-ſellers, the *intermixtures* of critics, nor *the interpolations* of Mr. Malone (*t*). In order to ſee this curious point, in its true light, it will be neceſſary to advert, with diſcriminative eye, to the character of Elizabeth, and to the ſituation of Shakſpeare.

Elizabeth was born in 1533; and was, of courſe, one-and-thirty years older than Shakſpeare. Being bred in the ſchool of adverſity, ſhe acquired early habits of perſonal addreſs; being called on to play a part, during critical times, ſhe learned the cunning, which the neceſſity of circumſpection, in *political* revolutions, always teaches; and being, in her early age, without hopes of future greatneſs, ſhe indulged in the natural propen-

(*t*) Mr. Malone undertook to print all the poems of Shakſpeare, except his *Venus and Adonis*, "faithfully from "the original copies:" Yet, has he thruſt in the *Paſſionate Pilgrim*, which was firſt publiſhed, in 1599, between *The Sonnets*, and *The Lover's Complaint*; which were both printed together, in 1609. I was enabled to ſee this *aberration* from editorſhip, by inſpecting the *firſt* edition of *The Sonnets*: Yet, Mr. Malone wandered into the path of error, while the right road of duty was before him. See his Supplement, 1780, vol. i. p. 581; and p. 709, for the publication of the *Paſſionate Pilgrim* in 1599; and p. 739, for the printing of the *Lover's Complaint*, at the end of the quarto edition of his Sonnets, in 1609.

ſities

ſities of meaner mortals (*u*). She was from conſtitution amorous; but, without the power of enjoyment (*v*): She was led thus to cultivate all the arts, and to acquire all the accompliſhments, which make women irreſiſtible, when they preſerve the modeſty of their nature, and ſtudy the mild graces of their ſex. With the underſtanding of a man, and the knowledge of a ſcholar, ſhe indulged the vanity of the weakeſt woman, and carried her paſſion for praiſe, even in the extremity of age, beyond the limits, which are ſcarcely allowed in girls: And, by expoſing this weakneſs to the world, ſhe became the dupe of her own ſervants, of her ſubjects, and alſo of foreigners, who all knew how to gain their ſeveral objects, by gratifying her prevailing paſſion. How did ſhe rack Melville, the

(*u*) Catalogue of Royal, and Noble, Authors, art. *Elizabeth.*

(*v*) For her youthful amour with the admiral Seymour, ſee Lodge's Illuſtrat. vol. i. 112. She was ſo pleaſed with her entertainment, in September 1560, at Baſing, by the ancient marquis of Wincheſter, the treaſurer, that ſhe ſaid gaily: "By my trouthe, if my lord treaſurer were a young "man, I could fynde in my harte to have him to my hus"bande, before any man in England." Ib. 346; and Whitaker's Vindication of Mary. vol. ii. 450—456—469—500—16—21.

ambaſſador

ambaſſador of Mary Queen of (*w*) Scots, to make him confeſs, that ſhe was handſomer, a better dancer, and a better muſician, than his miſtreſs, who was the handſomeſt, and moſt accompliſhed princeſs, in Europe. Moſt of her courtiers, therefore, feigned affection, and deſire towards her; addreſſing her in the uſual ſtyle of gallantry. By ſuch artifices, Leiceſter, and Eſſex, Raleigh, and Hatton roſe to favour, and acquired eſtates. Raleigh, having fallen into diſgrace, wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Cecil, for the ſight of Elizabeth, which has the following expreſſions of ridiculous flattery :— "I that was wont to ſee her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, ſometimes ſitting in the ſhade, like a goddeſs, ſometimes ſinging like an angel, ſometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the ſorrow of this world! once amiſs hath bereaved me of all (*x*)." It is to be remarked, ſays Hume, that this nymph, Venus, goddeſs, angel, was then about ſixty: yet, ſome *years after*, ſhe allowed the ſame language to be uſed to her (*y*). In 1599, when Elizabeth was

(*w*) Catalogue of Royal, and Noble, Authors, art. *Elizabeth.*

(*x*) Murden, 657. (*y*) Hiſtory, vol. v. 527.

ſixty-

fixty-fix, John Davis, who roſe to eminence, by his talents, and his flattery, dedicated his fine poem, *Noſce teipſum*, to her:

To that cleare majeſtie, which in the north,
Doth like another ſunne in glorie riſe,
Which ſtandeth fixed, yet ſpreads her heavenly worth,
Loadſtone to hearts, and loadſtarre to all eyes.

Fair ſoule, ſince to *the faireſt bodie knit*,
You give ſuch lively life, ſuch quickening power,
Such ſweet celeſtial influence to it,
As keeps it ſtill in youths immortal flower.

O many, many yeares may you remaine,
A happie *angel* to this happie land:
Long, long, may you on earth our empreſſe reigne,
Ere you in heaven a glorious angell ſtand;
Stay long (ſweet ſpirit) ere thou to heaven depart,
Which mak'ſt each place a heaven wherein thou art.

From the dedication of Davis, the tranſition is eaſy to the ſonnets of Shakſpeare, who had preceded Davis, in his flatteries, and celebrity.

Poets are born, not made: when I would prove
This truth, the glad remembrance I muſt love
Of never-dying Shakſpeare, who alone
Is argument enough to make that one.

Shakſpeare was alſo born a man, in 1564. Him,

" Fair fancy found, and bore the ſmiling babe
" To a cloſe cavern:
" Here, as with honey gather'd from the rock,
" She fed the little prattler."

Thus found, and thus fed, he broke looſe, ere long, from his confinement, prompted to eſcape, no doubt, by Cupid, and conducted, in

his flight, by Hymen: And thus ſtimulated, and directed, he became enamoured of Anne Hathaway, who was eight years older than himſelf, and married her, in 1582, when he was only eighteen years of age, and ſhe made him a father of his firſt child, Suſanna, at the age of nineteen (*z*). While other boys are only ſnivelling at ſchool, and thinking nothing of life, Shakſpeare entered the world, with little but his love to make him happy, and little but his genius to prevent the intruſion of miſery. An increaſing family, and preſſing wants, obliged him to look, beyond the limits of Stratford, for ſubſiſtence, and for fame (*a*). He felt, doubtleſs, emotions of genius, and he ſaw, certainly, perſons, who had not better pretenſions, than his own, riſing to eminence in a higher ſcene. By theſe motives was he

(*z*) Mal. Shakſpeare, 1790. vol. i. 105: His daughter Suſanna was baptized May 26, 1583. On the 2d of February, 1584-5, were baptiſed Samuel, and Judith, the twin iſſue of this marriage, when Shakſpeare was not yet of age. Ib. 172.

(*a*) The father of Shakſpeare fell into diſtreſſed circumſtances, ſoon after his marriage. John Shakſpeare, who had ſerved the honourable office of high bailiff of Stratford, in 1569, was excuſed in 1579, from paying a week's contribution of four-pence to the town; and was removed from being an alderman, in 1586, as he had not for ſome years attended the common halls. [Mal. Shakſ. vol. i. p. 103].

probably

probably induced to remove to London, in the period, between the years 1585, and 1588; chaſed from his home, by the terriers of the law, for debt, rather than for deer-ſtealing, or for libelling. He may have received, perhaps, an introduction to the theatre from Robert Green, his kinſman, an actor, of whom "none were of *greater grace at the* "*court*, or of more general love in the city;" and Shakſpeare, certainly, enjoyed the patronage of Lord Southampton, to whom was dedicated "the firſt heir of his invention."

Shakſpeare, however, ſoon became ſenſible of the *impreſſion*, "which vulgar ſcandal "ſtamp'd upon his brow." His gentle nature was ere long ſubdued. He perceived, with regret that, from his *occupation, his name had received a brand.* He deplored, with pungency, that *fortune*,

"The guilty goddeſs of his harmful deeds,
"——— did not better for his life provide,
"Than public means, that public manners breeds (*b*):

And in this *bitterneſs* of miſery, he adopted the reſolution, wherein he was, no doubt, confirmed by Green, his townſman, and relation, to addreſs his *prettye verſes* to Elizabeth.

It may be pertinently aſked, was Elizabeth

(*b*) Sonnet 91, Malone Sup. 670.

a princeſs,

a princeſs, who was likely to receive ſuch verſes; was Shakſpeare a poet, who was likely to write ſuch verſes? I anſwer both theſe queſtions, poſitively, in the affirmative. We have ſeen her natural voluptuouſneſs; we have beheld her paſſion for praiſe; we have obſerved her great miniſters, offering her the groſſeſt flattery, which ſhe received, as her accuſtomed due. We know, that Miſter Speaker, and *the houſe*, again and again went up, in order to woe her to (*c*) wed; ſhe was courted by ſubjects and foreigners, by princes and kings; and, at the age of forty, ſhe was addreſſed by the Duke D'Alençon, who came to England, in (*d*) 1572, "a paſſionate pil-"grim," to offer his vows:

"A woman, I forſwore; but, I will prove,
"Thou being a goddeſs, I forſwore not thee."

Now, Mr. Malone (*e*) admits, what the *Sonnets* demonſtrate, "that many of them were "written to ſhow the propriety of marriage." As to the ſecond queſtion; Shakſpeare knew, perfectly, the real character of Elizabeth, which made her the dupe of daily ſolicitation; he ſaw how many men of leſs genius, and

(*c*) Lodge, Il. vol. ii. p. 138.

(*d*) Sir T. Smith's life, 147—159.

(*e*) Supp. vol. i. p. 579.

fewer pretenſions, than his own, had gained their objects, and riſen to greatneſs, by gratifying her domineering paſſion: And, thus was he induced to ſend her, by the Lord Chamberlain, no doubt, his *ſugr'd ſonnets*, compoſed in *filed phraſe*, which no other woman, than Elizabeth, would have been pleaſed to receive, and no other poet, than Shakſpeare, could eaſily have written.

Yet, thoſe facts, and this reaſoning, had no influence upon Mr. Malone's mind. Though he cannot tell, with all the help of his learned coadjutors, to whom the *ſugr'd ſonnets* were addreſſed; yet, he is poſitive (*f*) that, of the whole number of one hundred and fifty-four, there were addreſſed to a man one hundred and twenty, and twenty-eight to a lady; to *ſhow her the propriety of marriage*. Now; Shakſpeare, who knew his own purpoſe, expreſsly ſays:—

" Let not my love be call'd idolatry;
" Nor my beloved, as an idol ſhow;
" Since all alike my ſongs, and praiſes, be,
" To ONE, of ONE, ſtill ſuch, and ever ſo (*g*).

Thus, in the arithmetic of Mr. Malone *one* is, by a ready operation, multiplied into *two*:

(*f*) Suppᵗ. vol. i. p. 579.
(*g*) Sonnet 105—Mal. Suppᵗ. vol. i. p. 666.

He *can divide*, *ſplit hairs*, and *ſtill divide*, it ſeems. The fact is, that Shakſpeare had not leiſure to write one hundred and twenty ſuch ſonnets to any *man*; being wholly occupied in *providing for the day*, *which was paſſing over him*; that the poet had no *love*, but a teeming wife, to whom he was ſtrongly attached, by early ties; and for whom he could hardly provide, by any means: Add to theſe circumſtances, that in another ſonnet, Shakſpeare maintains the *unity* of his *object*, by ſaying to *his* idol, Elizabeth:

" For, to *no other paſs*, *my verſes tend*,
" Than of *your graces*, and *your gifts*, to tell;
" And more, much more, than in my verſe can ſit,
" Your own glaſs ſhows you, when you look in it (*b*).

Yet, Mr. Malone is not convinced: He ſtill objects, that many more of the ſonnets are addreſſed to a male, than to a female (*i*). His objection proves, that he did not know, that Elizabeth was often conſidered as a man:—

(*b*) Ib. 665.

(*i*) Mr. Malone conſiders it, as one of the great defects of theſe ſonnets, " the majority of them not being directed " to a female, to whom alone ſuch ardent expreſſions of " eſteem [love] could with propriety be addreſſed." [Supplem^t. vol. i. p. 685.]

In poetry; Drant hails her as a (*k*) *Prince*; Spenſer paints her as a *Prince* (*l*): In proſe Aſcham celebrates her as a (*m*) *Prince*; Bacon deſcribes her as a *Prince*, unparalleled among women (*n*). Add to this, that there was much

(*k*) In Drant's verſes preſented to the Queen's Majeſtie, being then at Cambridge, for the name of his degree:

" A *Prince*, extract from hautie houſe,
" A *Prince* of pompouſe porte,
" Approcheth here, whoſe ancitours,
" Triumphe in glories forte.
" Cum loftie poets cum,
" Strike up in regall rate,
" To pennes, to pennes, purſue the chaſe,
" Ye have a game of ſtate.

[Drant's *medicinable moral*, that is, the two books of Horace his ſatyres—Englyſhed. Printed by Marſh, 1566.]

(*l*) " Moſt peerleſs *Prince*, moſt peerleſs poetreſs,
" The true *Pandora* of all heavenly graces,
" Divine Eliza; ————————

[The Tears of the Muſes. Hughs Edit. vol. 5. p. 1377.]

(*m*) " It is your ſhame, I ſpeake to you all, you yong gentle-
" men of England," ſays Aſcham, " that *one mayde* [Queen
" Elizabeth, in the margin] ſhould go beyond you all in ex-
" cellency of learning: Amongeſt all the benefites that God
" hath bleſſed me withall, I count this the greateſt, that it
" pleaſed God to call me, to be one poore miniſter in ſet-
" ting forward theſe excellent giftes of learning, in thys moſt
" excellent *prince*."—[The Scole*maſter*, 1571. p. 21.]

(*n*) " Queene Elizabeth, *a Prince*, that if Plutarch were
" now alive to write lyves by parallells, would trouble him
" to find for her a parallell among women."

[Advancement of Learning. Ed. 1605, p. 35.]

darkneſs,

darkneſs, and confuſion, introduced into writing, in the days of Shakſpeare, by the frequent uſe of the maſculine pronoun *his* inſtead of the neuter demonſtrative, *it* (*o*). But, of theſe ſonnets, I have not undertaken to clear the obſcure, to reconcile the diſcrepant, or to diſentangle the knotty. When Shakſpeare draws his topics of praiſe from metaphyſics, he is, like other metaphyſicians, cold, dark, and unintelligible. Happy! had Johnſon criticiſed Shakſpeare, as a metaphyſical poet, rather than Cowley, or Donne. But, this is leſs to be regretted, *conſidering into whoſe hands the taſk was to fall:*—In the *folio life* of our illuſtrious dramatiſt, Mr. Malone will, no doubt, find room for a particular chapter, in which " to ear ſo barren a land;" barren, becauſe hitherto uncultivated. As for me; it is ſufficient, that I maintain my great poſition, that the *fugr'd ſonnets* were addreſſed by Shakſpeare to Elizabeth, whom the greateſt philologiſts, and philoſophers, of her

(*o*) With a view to this point, read the firſt ſonnet of Shakſpeare, in Mal. Sup^t. vol. i. p. 581:

From faireſt creatures we deſire increaſe,
That, thereby, beauties *roſe* might never die;
But, that the riper ſhould, by time decreaſe,
His [its] tender heir might bear *his* [its] memory.

reign, addreſſed both as a male, and female.

Knowing the paſſions of Elizabeth, and willing to gratify them, Shakſpeare opens his purpoſe, in his firſt ſonnet, by a direct addreſs to the great object of his flattery:

" Thou, that art now the world's freſh ornament,
" And *only herald* to the *gaudy ſpring*.

Whatever may have been the beauty, or celebrity, of the Warwickſhire laſſes, in that age, I doubt, whether the prettieſt of them could properly be called *the world's freſh ornament*, and *only herald to the gaudy ſpring*. Our panegyriſt goes on, in his ſecond ſonnet, to praiſe his love, as the heir of perpetual youth; as the object of univerſal admiration:

" When forty winters ſhall beſiege thy brow,
" And dig deep trenches in thy beauties' field,
" Thy youth's proud livery, *ſo gaz'd on now*,
" Will be a tatter'd weed of ſmall worth held (*p*).

Queen Elizabeth was certainly forty, in the year 1573; and was probably more than fifty,

(*p*) He repeats this topic of flattery, from univerſal admiration, in the 5th ſonnet:

" The lovely gaze, where every eye doth dwell."

But, no Warwickſhire girl could merit the praiſe, nor any Warwickſhire poet feign this univerſality of admiration, with reſpect to *a local* beauty.

at

at the epoch of this panegyric: But, this objection, in the preſent caſe, does not ſtrike with the ſame force, as when applied to other women of inferior rank, and of leſs affectation, in their daily habits. At the age of ſixty, Elizabeth was commonly addreſſed by miniſters, and ambaſſadors, as an *Angel*, as a *Goddeſs* (*q*): Moreover, lord Orford has proved, that Elizabeth *dawnced*, when ſhe was *ſixty-eight*; and from this circumſtance, he reaſonably inferred, that it was equally natural for her to be in love, as to *dawnce*, at ſo advanced an age. In proſecution of his topic of praiſe, from her youth, and beauty, Shakſpeare, with great addreſs, holds up to her, in his third ſonnet, a mirrour, which might recal, by a retroſpective image, very agreeable ſenſations: —

" *Thou art thy mother's glaſs*, and ſhe, in thee,
" Calls back the lovely April of her prime."

But, it was in his ſeventh ſonnet, that he gave to her, and left to us, an undoubt-

(*q*) When ſhe was *ſixty-ſeven*, Veriken, the Dutch ambaſſador, told her at his audience, " that he had longed to " undertake that voyage to ſee her majeſty, who for *beauty* " and wiſdom excelled all other princes of the world." [Cat. of Royal, and Noble, Authors, vol. i. 140.]

ed ſpecimen of real poetry, and of genuine praiſe.

" Lo! in the orient, when the gracious light
" Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
" Doth homage to his new-appearing ſight;
" Serving with looks his ſacred majeſty:
" And, having climb'd the ſteep-up heavenly hill,
" Reſembling ſtrong youth, in his middle age;
" Yet, mortal looks adore his beauty ſtill,
" Attending on his golden pilgrimage:
" But, when from highmoſt pitch, with weary car,
" Like feeble age, he reeleth from the day,
" The eye's, 'fore duteous, now converted are
" From his low tract, and look another way:
" So thou, thyſelf outgoing in thy noon,
" Unlook'd on, dieſt, unleſs thou get a ſon."

He deſcends from this *higheſt pitch*, and woes her to marriage, in his eighth ſonnet, by alluſions to muſic; from the *true concord of well-tuned ſounds, by unions married.* And, in his ninth ſonnet, he remonſtrates:

" Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye,
" That thou conſum'ſt thyſelf in ſingle life?
" Ah! if thou iſſueleſs ſhalt hap to die,
" The *world will wail thee*, like a makeleſs wife;
" The world will be thy widow, and ſtill weep,
" That thou no form of thee haſt left behind,
" When every PRIVATE widow well may keep,
" By children's eyes, her huſband's ſhape in mind.

I might here cloſe my proofs. A Warwickſhire *wench*, however *pretty*, and *witty*, would ſcarcely

ſcarcely have been bewailed by the *world*, had ſhe died iſſueleſs: And, ſhe would have been, by the loſs of her huſband, as far from being a *public* widow, as Elizabeth would have been a *private* widow, by the demiſe of "*a well-*" *wiſhed king*." But, the ſubject is curious for its novelty, and the argument is important for its inferences: and, I will, therefore, exhibit Shakſpeare, as a woer, in ſome other lights. He courts Elizabeth, in his tenth ſonnet, by aſſuring her, *that ſhe was beloved by many*; and he conjured her to be, "as thy "*preſence is*, *gracious*, and *kind*." In his ecſtaſy, he fancies, that ſhe had given herſelf to her adorer, as "a fair gift:" But, awaking from his reverie, he cries out:

"Thus have I had thee, as a dream doth flatter,
"In ſleep *a* KING (*r*) ——————."

Propriety could never have uſed ſuch *compliments* to *knitters i' th' ſun*. In the ſeventeenth ſonnet, he breaks out in *a fine phrenzy*, to praiſe the preſent, and to prophecy of the future:

"Who will believe my verſe in time to come,
"If it were filled with *your moſt high deſerts?*

(*r*) See the 87th ſonnet: and ſee the 114th ſonnet:
"Or whether doth my mind, being crown'd with you,
"Drink up *the monarch's plague*, this flattery:
"——————, tis flattery in my ſeeing,
"And my *great mind* moſt *kingly* drinks it up."

"Though

" Though heaven yet knows, it is but as a tomb,
" Which *hides your life*, and *ſhows not half your parts*.
" If I could write the beauty of your eyes,
" And, in freſh numbers, number all your graces,
" The age to come would ſay, this poet lies;
" Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces:
" So ſhould my papers, *yellow'd with their age*,
" Be *ſcorn'd, like old men of leſs truth, than tongue*;
" And, your true rights be term'd a poet's rage,
" A ſtretched metre of an antique ſong:
" But, were ſome child of your's alive, that time,
" You ſhould live twice; in it, and in my rhime."

Shakſpeare was not only poſſeſſed of poetic frenzy, but enjoyed a quality, whereof he has not hitherto been ſuſpected, the *ſecond ſight*: He not only knew, that Elizabeth, the *maſter-miſtreſs* of his paſſion, would die *iſſueleſs*; but, he foreſaw the fate of his " MISCELLANEOUS " PAPERS;" and that they would, though *yellowed with their age*, be *ſcorned*, like *old men* of *leſs truth*, than tongue. Becoming more reaſonable, in his ninety-ſixth ſonnet, he calmly deſcribes Elizabeth, in ſuch explicit terms, as to remove even the doubts of ſcepticiſm:

" Some ſay thy fault is youth, ſome wantonneſs;
" Some ſay thy grace is youth, and gentle ſport;
" Both grace, and faults, are lov'd of more and leſs:
" Thou mak'ſt faults graces, that to thee reſort;
" As on *the finger of a throned queen*
" The *baſeſt jewel will be well eſteem'd*;

" So

" So are *thoſe errors*, that in thee are ſeen,
" To *truths tranſlated*, and for true things deem'd.
" How many gazers might'ſt thou lead away,
" If *thou would'ſt uſe the ſtrength of all thy ſtate* (*s*).

While

(*s*) Let the curious reader, laying aſide his prepoſſeſſion, advert to ſeveral expreſſions, which are ſcattered, by Shakſpeare, through his ſonnets, with a laviſh hand. In the 23d ſonnet, he ſays, " who plead for love, and *look for recompence.*" From whom could he look for recompence, but from Elizabeth? In the 25th ſonnet he talks of thoſe, who boaſt of *public honour*, and *proud titles*; and hints, that *fortune* had *barred him* of *ſuch triumphs:* yet, conſoles himſelf with recollecting the fate of *great princes favourites*, who, at a *frown*, oft in *their glory die.* In the 31ſt ſonnet, he flatters her, by ſaying, " thy boſom is endeared with all hearts." In the 36th ſonnet, he bewails his ſituation; as it might prevent her from *honouring* him with her *public kindneſs.* In the 37th ſonnet, he gives her pre-eminence of *beauty*, *birth*, *wealth*, and *wit:* And in the the 38th ſonnet, he heightens this panegyric, by ſuggeſting, that her accompliſhments were *too excellent*, for every *vulgar paper to rehearſe.* After ſpeaking of her *beauty*, and *bounty*, in the 53d ſonnet, he adds; "and *you* in every *bleſſed ſhape*, we know:" He then ſpeaks of *the univerſality* of her praiſes, in the 69th ſonnet; and prophecies of the *eternity* of her celebrations, in the 55th, and 59th ſonnets: All tongues, he tells, commend *her outward*; but, even her foes commend the beauty of *her mind*, which they *meaſure*, by *her deeds.* [See the 69th ſonnet]. He afterwards adds; that ſhe is as *fair in knowledge*, as in hue. [See the 82d ſonnet.] He then recals his *forgetful muſe*, and bids her in his 100th ſonnet, " ſing to the " ear that doth thy lays eſteem, and gives thy pen both " ſkill and argument." Whoever will conſider, attentively, thoſe

While Elizabeth hath ſuch ſtrong pretenſions to the honour of Shakſpeare's panegyric, Mr. Malone, and his coadjutors, have been wholly unable to name either man, or woman, who could reaſonably pretend to rival claims. With ſuch quickneſs of thought, does the poet *glance from earth to heaven*, that my "heavy ignorance" cannot follow him. In his flights, he points indeed ſometimes at a man, and often at a woman; yet he generally reſts, at laſt, on "his fair ſubject;"—"finding "her worth a limit paſt his praiſe." One hundred and twenty of thoſe ſonnets are ſuppoſed, though without ſufficient proof, to be addreſſed to a (*t*) friend; and are reprobated, though without adequate cauſe, as profeſſing too much love to be addreſſed to a man. (*u*) When

thoſe appropriate topics muſt perceive, I think, that they could have been addreſſed to no other perſonage, than Elizabeth, who is either particularly deſcribed, or often alluded to, through one hundred and fifty-four ſonnets.

(*t*) Mr. Malone might have ſeen in Howard's Collections, p. 521, "An original love-letter of Sir George Hayward, which was written, in 1550, and begins, "My dereſt "*friend*, my ſecond ſelf, nay my inſeparable ſelf; and ends "your affectionated and true friend."

(*u*) In Fenn's letters, vol. ii. p. 355, Mr. Malone might have ſeen the Duke of Norfolk, when writing to John Paſton,

When the admirers of Shakſpeare come to perceive, that his ſonnets were addreſſed to Elizabeth, they will be happy to find, that the poet was incapable of ſuch groſsneſs. The fact is, that Shakſpeare, knowing the voracity of Elizabeth, determined to gorge her with praiſe. In executing his purpoſe, "*he ex-* "*hauſted worlds, and then imagin'd new.*" Ought we to wonder that, in performing this great operation, he ſhould confound the ſexes? Let us appeal to *the truth*, which is always the beſt juſtification: He knew the mighty object of his adoration to be of a very *mixed ſtaple:* and he addreſſed her, as Spenſer, Raleigh, and Bacon had addreſſed her before, both as a princeſs, and a prince; as a heroine,

Paſton, in 1485, conclude his letter, "your lover, "J. Norfolk." Mr. Malone might have peruſed in the Cabala, p. 213, the following Love-letter from the Earl of Eſſex to Mr. Secretary Daviſon: "As at my departure, ſo "upon my return, I muſt needs ſalute you, as one, whom "then, and now, and ever, I muſt *love very much:* I would "gladly ſee you, but I am tied here a while; when I may "have occaſion to ſhew *my love to you*, I will do more than "I now promiſe. In the mean time, wiſhing you that "happineſs, which men, in this world, ought to ſeek, I take "my leave, your aſſured friend, R. Eſſex."—[There are in the Cabala, p. 213—15, other letters of the Earl of Eſſex to Mr. Secretary Daviſon, which are all written in a ſimilar ſtrain of *love*].

and

and a hero; as an angel, and a goddeſs; as Adonis, and Helen (*v*). Knowing her patience, while liſtening to panegyric, Shakſpeare determined, with the reſolution of his own Dogberry, to beſtow his *whole tediouſneſs upon her*, if he were as tedious as a king (*w*).

He felt, indeed, ſome moments of wearineſs; and feared, at times, the power of a rival. We may learn theſe facts, from what he admits himſelf, when he cries out, in his eightieth ſonnet:

" O! how I faint, when I of you do write;
" Knowing a *better ſpirit* doth uſe your name,
" And in the praiſe thereof, ſpends all his might,
" To make me tongue-ty'd, ſpeaking of your fame:
" But, ſince *your worth*, (wide as the ocean is)
" The humble, as the proudeſt ſail doth bear,
" My ſaucy bark, inferior far to his,
" On *your broad main*, doth wilfully appear.

(*v*) In her laſt progreſs, at Sir Henry Leighe's, the Queen was received with a Dialogue, between *Conſtancie*, and *Inconſtancie*. *Conſtancie* addreſſes her: " moſt excellent: ſhall " I ſay Lady, or *Goddeſſe?* whom I ſhould envie to be but " a lady, and cannot denie to have the power of a *goddeſſe*." [See *The Phœnix Neſt*, 1593, p. 16].

(*w*) He addreſſed to her 154 ſonnets of 14 lines each, which, of courſe, amounted to 2156 lines, in praiſe of her beauty, and accompliſhments, without once touching her *government*, which he knew would rouze her political jealouſy, and offend againſt her *prerogative*; which ſhe deemed ſacred.

" Your

" Your ſhalloweſt help will hold me up afloat,
" Whilſt he upon your *ſoundleſs deep* doth ride:
" Or, being wreck'd, I am a worthleſs boat,
" He a *tall building*, and of goodly pride:
" Then, *if he thrive*, and I be caſt away,
" The worſt was this; my love was my decay."

It would gratify a reaſonable curioſity to know what *better ſprite* it were, of whom Shakſpeare feared the ſuperiority, and envied the ſucceſs. Mr. Malone has ſuggeſted, that it was (*x*) Spenſer, who was then in the zenith of his reputation; who had reared, in 1590, the Fairie Queen, as "a tall building," to eternize her name: And, Mr. Malone has diligently ſhewn, by having ranſacked the records, that Spenſer had a penſion from Elizabeth, contrary to the idle ſuppoſitions of his biographers. Now, theſe facts are in themſelves ſufficient, to confirm the probability, that Shakſpeare addreſſed his ſonnets to Elibeth, in emulation of Spenſer, and in hopes of *thriving*, as he had *thriven*. Yet, the reaſoning of Mr. Malone, "that there was certainly " no poet in his own time with whom he " needed to have feared a compariſon," is not, I think, concluſive. He does not, ſufficiently, carry his mind back to the perſons, and things, of that time; and he does not,

(*x*) Supplement, vol. i. p. 645.

properly,

properly, bring in experience to the aid of his recollection. We all know, that the wretched Settle was the rival of the mighty Dryden; who, for a time, both feared, and hated him. And, Shakſpeare, who appears to have been modeſt by nature, may have been *tongue-tyed*, by ſome petty poet, before he had been flattered, by praiſe, to think highly of his own performances. As Settle was a court-poet for a while, in oppoſition to Dryden, was not Churchyard a court-poet, in like oppoſition to Shakſpeare? The Queen ſpent her New-year's-day of 159$\frac{2}{3}$, at *Hampton-Court*, when, and where, Churchyard preſented her "*A* "*pleaſant Conceite*," penned in verſe (*y*). He felicitated himſelf, in the following terms:

"The book, I call'd of late *my dear adieu*,
"Is now become my welcome home moſt kind:
"For, old miſhaps are heal'd with *fortune new*,
"That brings a balme to cure, to cure a wounded mind.
"From God, and *Prince*, I now ſuch favour find,
"That full afloat *my ſhip* it rydes,
"At anchorhold *againſt all checking tydes*."

(*y*) It was printed, for Warde, in 1593. There is a Dedication to the Queen; "which *Pleaſant Conceite*," he tells her, "I have preſumed (this Newyear's day) to preſent "to your Majeſty, in ſign, and token, that your gracious "goodneſs towards me oftentimes (and chiefly now for *my* "*penſion*) ſhall never go out of my remembrance." [See that very curious book, Nichols's Progreſſes of Queen Elizabeth.]

The

The time, the place, the parties, the penſion, the fortune new, the *prince*, the *ſhip*, riding at anchor, on the *broad main* of Elizabeth, againſt checking tides; are all, ſurely, ſtriking coincidences (*z*). Raleigh was the patron both of Spenſer, and of Churchyard: Hatton was alſo the patron of Churchyard. Why Churchyard ſhould have been preferred, at court, to Shakſpeare, it is vain to enquire the

(*z*) From the notices of Wood, in the Athenæ, Oxon. vol. i. p. 317, a life of Thomas Churchyard might be written. He was born at Shrewſbury; and lived, and fought, and wrote, and ſuffered hardſhips, in the reigns of Edward 6, Mary, and Elizabeth. During the laſt of theſe reigns, he furniſhed the court with many Interludes, or other *Conceites*, for the Queen's diverſiſement. He wrote, as is well known, *The Worthines of Wales*, which, forming part of Shakſpeare's library, may be ſeen, at this day, in Norfolk-ſtreet, with the name, and notes, of the great dramatiſt, written in many parts of it, in a fair hand, and genuine character, to the utter defiance of all ſceptics, upon the point of their authenticity. Churchyard died poor, ſays Wood; and is buried near the famous poet, John Skelton, in the choir of St. Margaret's church, Weſtminſter. His epitaph is in Weaver, 497. But, none of the biographers can tell, when he died. By inſpecting the pariſh regiſter, I found, that Mr. Thomas Churchyard was buried, on the 4th of April 1604. On obſerving a × before his name, I aſked the meaning of the croſs: the clerk, with the importance, which is hereditary in the family of pariſh-clerks, informed me, that it was a mark of *eminence*; as, indeed, the prefixed *Miſter* plainly confirms.

cauſe, and uſeleſs to regret the effect. Our great dramatiſt, probably, injured himſelf by paying ſuch frequent court to Lord Southampton, who had not the intereſt, during Elizabeth's reign, to procure for him the ſmalleſt favour. Whether it were Spenſer, or Churchyard, who rouſed the emulation of Shakſpeare, they both looked to Elizabeth, as the ſun of their worſhip: And, from this circumſtance, we may preſume, that he, too, muſt have pointed to that great luminary, as the *loadſtone* of his heart, and *loadſtarre* of his eyes.

I have now cloſed the proofs, which have convinced me, that the ſonnets of Shakſpeare were addreſſed by him to Elizabeth. The ſtrong preſumption, which is ſet up by thoſe proofs, cannot be deſtroyed, but by proofs of greater weight, that would carry with them a contrary perſuaſion.

The believers, who recognized, in the *ſugr'd ſonnets*, the *prettye verſes*, of Shakſpeare, naturally inferred, from the plaineſt principles of common ſenſe, that, as Elizabeth had given penſions to other poets for leſs *prettye verſes*, ſhe might, probably, have *ſent a letter* of *compliment to Maſterre William, onne theyre greate excellence.* The believers knew, moreover, that the preſumption, which aroſe from the

the dictates of common ſenſe, was ſtrengthened, by collateral evidence. And they recollected, what Mr. Malone ſeems to have forgotten, an additional proof in OTWAY's *Prologue* to his *Caius Marius:*

" Our Shakſpeare wrote too in *an age as bleſt*,
" The happieſt poet of his time, and beſt;
" A gracious *prince*'s favour cheer'd his muſe,
" A conſtant favour he ne'er fear'd to loſe (*a*)."

Yet, neither a ſtrong preſumption, nor collateral evidence, will ſatisfy the public accuſer, without *rigid demonſtration*. One of his great objections, indeed, is, that this epiſtle had an *archetype*, after which it was formed (*b*). On the contrary, the believers reaſonably inferred, that, ſince an *archetype* had exiſted, a *copy* might probably be produced; and, ſince a precedent of ſuch a letter had been ſhown, Elizabeth's letter might fairly be admitted, ac-

(*a*) Mal. Shakſ. vol. i. p. 217.—Otway lived at an epoch, when ſuch anecdotes were ſtill remembered. The *bleſſed age* was plainly the happy reign of Elizabeth, who is, with great propriety, called by Otway, as ſhe had been called by Shakſpeare, a *gracious* prince. Churchyard, we may recollect, called her a *prince*, in his dedication to her: And, Elizabeth calls herſelf a *prince*, in her letter to Lady Paget.—Mal. Inquiry, p. 114.

(*b*) Inquiry, 27:—" A model," ſays he, with great *terſeneſs*, " either now exiſting or *which* once exiſted, on *which* " it has been conſtructed."

cording to the eſtabliſhed practice, as a genuine document.

But, this logic the public accuſer does not admit into his code. The preſumption, ariſing from the probability; the collateral evidence, growing out of the ſcenic hiſtory; the archetype for the copy; and the precedent for the practice; are all diſregarded by our logical inquirer, as ſupplying leſs evidence, than rigid demonſtration. He thinks it ſufficient, in that (*c*) diſregard, "merely to "contraſt the *orthography* of this, and the "other, papers with the ſpelling of Eliza-"beth herſelf, or any other writers of her "age." In proſecution of this thought, he deems it equally reaſonable, to contraſt manuſcripts, which exhibit the orthography of the party, with books, that generally ſhow the ſpelling of the printer. In purſuance of this reaſoning, he ſuppoſes what he ought to prove; nay, he aſſumes what he has diſproved, viz. that the *orthography* of the reign of Elizabeth was uniform in its practice, and ſyſtematic in its principle. And, in order to entitle himſelf, as a fair logician, to reaſon from the uniformity of ſpelling; and ſo, to prove the ſpurioufneſs of Elizabeth's epiſtle, from its want

(*c*) Inquiry, p. 31-33.

of conformity to the ſettled rule, he quotes a thouſand paſſages of (*d*) books, from the epoch of Chaucer to the days of Norden, which demonſtrate, that there was, in thoſe times, no ſettled rule, and no uniformity of practice, in the phraſeology of the Engliſh language. If there were no ſettled rule, there could be then no ſtandard of uniform practice; and if there were no uniform practice, there could never be any deviation from the eſtabliſhed phraſeology.

The public accuſer, who is continually miſtaking *aſſumptions* for *proofs*, proceeds, however, a ſtep further. He contraſts letters of Elizabeth, in the Muſeum, with her letter, in Norfolk-ſtreet; in order to ſhow *conſiſtency* in her ſpelling, and, at the ſame moment, to ſhow diſcrepancy, between the genuine letters, and the pretended epiſtle. But, was ſhe conſiſtent, in her own practice? Without attending to *the fact*, he has attempted to anſwer this queſtion, by ſhowing her learning, from her ſpeaking many tongues; as if *ſpeaking*, and *writing*, languages were not very diſtinct qualities; as if millions, at this day, did not

(*d*) See the various quotations, which, without gratifying curioſity, only prove, that there was not then any ſettled orthography: Inquiry, 35 to 69.

ſpeak Engliſh, who cannot write it, accurately. He has, indeed, been perſuaded to make another move in this game of draughts, contrary to his better judgment: He was, in this manner, induced to publiſh *a table*, from the *ſcheme* of a friend, in order to eſtabliſh the *conſiſtency* of the queen's orthography; though this ſcheme, and that table, are *inconſiſtent* with his own documents (*e*).

I will, now, proceed to prove, from the public accuſer's *own ſhewing*, that the orthography of Elizabeth was not formed on any ſettled principle, nor uſed according to any regular practice. In her letter to Lord Shrewſbury, ſhe writes (*f*): "Let no grief touche "your *harte* for fear of my diſeaſe for I aſſure "*you* if my creadit *wer* not *greater* than my "ſhewe *ther* is no beholdar *wold beleve* that "ever I had *bin* touched with *ſuche* a mala-"dye." In this ſhort paſſage, I propoſe to ſhow a contrariety in the ſpelling, by the pen of Elizabeth, in no fewer than *eight* words. In another of her letters to the ſame Lord Shrewſbury, ſhe ſays (*g*): "How loth we are

(*e*) Compare Mal. Inquiry, p. 74, with p. 113-14.

(*f*) Inquiry, 113.

(*g*) Lodge's Il. vol. iii. 112. In Murden, 185, ſhe has "*hertlely* wiſh."

"to

" to burden o^r own ſubjects wth charges o^r " own *hart* doth know beſt." In a letter to her ambaſſadors, ſhe has " wherewith they " *were* much ſatisfied (*h*)." In the ſame letter ſhe ſpeaks of " our *gret* ſeal," inſtead of *greatar* ſeal. She tells her ambaſſadors, in the ſame letter, " there was no ar- " ticle ne covenant in the treatye (*i*)." In oppoſition to *wold beleve*, in one page, ſhe utters *would* wiſh, in the next (*j*): And, ſhe adviſes Sir Harry Sydney, in theſe words: " *Belive* not, *thogh* (*k*) *the* ſwere that *they* " can be *ful* ſound, whoſe parents ſoght the " rule that *the full* ſayne *would* have." This quotation, which is taken from one of Mr. Malone's authorities, is full of the *contrarieties* of the *conſiſtent* Queen Beſs: *Belive* for *beleve*, *the* for *they*, *ful* for *full*, *would* in place of *wold*. Inſtead of had *bin* touched, which ſhe tells Shrewſbury ſhe had not *bin*, by the ſmall-pox, ſhe aſſures Sydney that, Prometheus

(*h*) Forbes's State Letters, vol. i. p. 109.

(*i*) In the ſame letter, ſhe tells her ambaſſadors, " that " *althoght it* [ſhe has yt and hit, at times] was not compre- " henſed by any ſpeciall article within the *treaty*."

(*j*) See Mal. Inquiry, p. 113-14.

(*k*) In Forbes, vol. i. p. 109, ſhe has, *althoght* it was not.

" hathe *bine* myne to long (*l*)." Of *ſuche* contrarieties we may eaſily find *ſuch* a (*m*) number, as will make the public accuſer aſhamed of the *uniformity* of Elizabeth's ſpelling. Strange! that a lady, who had ſo many lovers, and thought ſo much of love, ſhould have been ſo irregular in her orthography, as to exhibit, in the ſame page, of that *conſiſtent* critic, *loving ſovraigne*, in oppoſition to *lovinge ſouveraine* (*n*). With the ſame inconſiſtency, ſhe ſpeaks of the *higheſt* lord, and " How yreful *wyl* the *hieſt* power be may you be ſure " whā murmure *ſhal* be made of his pleaſing " wyl (*o*)." With the ſame diſcrepance, ſhe writes to Lady Drury (*p*): " *Bee well ware* " my Beſſe you ſtrive not with divine ordi- " nance:" Yet, ſhe writes to Sydney (*q*) " A fole *to* late *be* wares, whan all the perrel

(*l*) Sydney Pap. quoted by Mr. Malone, p. 7.

(*m*) Lodge II. vol. iii. p. 112.

(*n*) See Mal. Inq. p. 113-114, for the curious fact: and Lodge's Illuſt. vol. ii. p. 154:—She has alſo *ſoveraigne*, and *ſoverayne*, [Ib. 154-5] and *ſovereign* in Fuller's Worth. Oxf. 336: We have here the thing, which was conſtantly in the mind of Elizabeth, exhibited, by her pen, in ſix different forms.

(*o*) Mal. Inq. 114: and, ſee her letter to Sydney [pa. 8.] for *ſhall* and *will*; and *wil*, in Nichols's Prog. vol. i. p. 24.

(*p*) Mal. Inq. 113. (*q*) Sydney Pap. vol. i. 8.

" is

" is paſt;" and ſhe adds, in the ſame contradictory ſtrain, to Sydney (*r*): " Whan our " lome is *wel* nigh done, our work is new to " begin." She talks to Lady Drury of her " married *hap*:" Yet, ſhe ſpeaks to Shrewſbury (*s*) of " the beſt good *happe* that any " prince on earthe can befaule." To Lady Paget ſhe writes (*t*): " Let nature *therfor* " not hurt yourſelf but give place to the " *givur*:" Contrariwiſe ſhe writes to Lord Strange (*u*): " *Therefore* at this tyme, direct " *you* to repayre hyther than *yourſelf* ſhall *ſee* " may ſtand with your father's lykyng in this " his ſicknes, but yet conſidering your ab- " ſence we have been erneſt with our *cooſyn* " your wiff, that ſhe *wold* move *yow* to ſend " up yowr eldeſt ſone(*v*)." She thanked *goud* Sir Harry Wallop " for ſõe othr ſervices than " comen commiſſiõs for wiche in ſkroile of

(*r*) Ib.—ſhe has alſo—*well deſarvers*—and *worſar hap*.

(*s*) Lodge Illuſt. vol. ii. p. 155. (*t*) Mal. Inq. 114.

(*u*) Murden, 185: In Lodge, vol. iii. p. 112, ſhe has *couſin*; and in Forbes, vol. ii. p. 415, ſhe has her *coſin*: we have already had *bin*, and *bine*. She ſpeaks above of giving " place to the *givur*:" in her often quoted letter to Sydney, ſhe adviſes him " not to conſult ſo longe as til advis come " to late to the *givers*."

(*v*) In her letter to Lady Drury—[Inquiry 114] ſhe has *you*, and *yours*.

" other

" other *memorielz* I faile not to locke in my " beſt memorye:" Contrary to this again, ſhe adviſes Sydney (*w*): " Let this *me-* " *moriall* be only committed to *Vulcanes* " baſe keping." In her letter of thanks to her very good *couſins* Lord, and Lady, Shrewſbury, for kindly diſcharging the *dyet*, at *Buxtons*, of her *couſin* of *Leyceſter*, ſhe writes (*x*): " This good *happe* then grow- " ing from *you*, ye might thinke your*ſelfes* (*y*) " moſt unhappye *yf* you ſrved ſuch a *prince* as " ſhould not be as readye gratyouſlie to conſi- " der of *yt*." She ſays contrariwiſe to Sydney (*z*): " If aught have *bine* amys at home, " I wyll pache thogh I cannot hole *it* (*a*)."

I will here cloſe my proof, on this head; and ſum up the reſult. In order to demonſtrate the uniform orthography, and conſiſtent ſpelling, of Elizabeth, Mr. Malone has given a *table*, which was ſchemed by a friend; comprehending *five-and-twenty* words (*b*). I will

(*w*) Sydney Lett. vol. i. p. 8. (*x*) Lodge, vol. ii. p. 155.

(*y*) In the ſame letter ſhe has *yourſelves*.

(*z*) Syd. Letters, vol. i. p. 8.

(*a*) In her letter to Lady Paget [Inquiry 114] ſhe has " yet is *hit* ſent."

(*b*) Inquiry, 73-74.

now

now confront him, and his friend, with a *table* of more than *fifty* words, which might have been enlarged; in order to demonſtrate the inconſiſtent ſpelling, and unſyſtematic orthography, of Elizabeth:—

Anſwer	Aunſwear	Aunſer (*c*)
Althoght	Thogh	Although
Bee	Be	
Be*l*eve	Be*l*ive	Beleeve
Bin	Bine	Bene
Ca*ſ*e	Cace (*d*)	Cace
Caliſſe (the Town)	Calles (*e*)	
Couſin	Coſin Cooſin	Couſyn (*f*)
Comforte	Compfort (*g*)	
Dear	Deere (*h*)	
Debt	Debte	
Ful	Full	
Hap	Happe	
Hart	Harte	He*r*tlely
How	Howe (*i*)	
Higheſt	Hieſt	
Gi*v*e	Gever (*k*)	

(*c*) See the Queen's letter to her ambaſſadors in France, Forbes, vol. ii. 414.

(*d*) Inquiry, 114; Lodge II. vol. ii. 155.

(*e*) Forbes, vol. ii. 415.

(*f*) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155. (*g*) Ib. 362.

(*h*) Howard's Col. 246-7.

(*i*) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155. (*k*) Id.

Givur

Givur	Giv*ers*	
Greatar	Gret [ar]	
If	Yf	
It	Yt Hit	
King	Kinge (*l*)	
Leyceſter	Leiceſter (*m*)	
Loving	Lovinge	
May	Maie (*n*)	
Mee	Me (*o*)	
Memoriall	Memori*elz*	
Moe	More (*p*)	
Mynde	Minde (*q*)	
Raigne	Reigne (*r*)	
Shall	Shal	
Shrewſbury	Shrewe̅ſbury (*s*)	
Soveraigne	Soveraine	
Sovraigne	Souveraine	
Soverayne	Sovereign	
Such	Suche	
Thanckfull	Tha̅ke	Thankfullie (*t*)
Than	Then (*u*)	

(*l*) Howard's Col. 247. Mal. Inq. 114.

(*m*) Cabala, 26; Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 155.

(*n*) Inquiry, 114; Lodge, vol. ii. 155.

(*o*) Howard's Col. 247. (*p*) Ib. 246-7.

(*q*) Mal. Inq. 114; Howard's Col. 246.

(*r*) Letter to Sydney, and Howard's Col. 246.

(*s*) Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 82.

(*t*) In the ſame letter—Lodge, vol. ii. 155.

(*u*) Mal. Inq. 112; Howard's Col. 247.

They

They	The	Thei
Ther	There	Theyre
Therfor	Therefore	
Thogh	Though (*v*)	
To	Too (*w*)	
Treaty	Treatye	
Ware	Wares	
Were	Wer (*x*)	
Well	Wel	
Will	Wyl	Wil
Which	Wiche	
When	Whøn	
Wyfe	Wyf	
Would	Wold	Woulde
You	Yow	
Your	Youer	
Yours	Yowrs	
Yourſelves	Yourſelfes	

Such, then, are the facts, which, as they are chiefly drawn from Mr. Malone's own documents, demonſtrate, in oppoſition to his theory, that Elizabeth had neither conſiſtency in her ſpelling, nor uniformity in her practice of orthography: If ſhe had no conſiſtency, how can a rule be formed, from that want of

(*v*) Howard's Col. 246; Mal. Inq. 114.

(*w*) Letter to Sydney, and Howard's Col. 246.

(*x*) Inquiry, 113; Forbes, vol. i. 109.

conſiſtency,

conſiſtency, to diſtinguiſh the genuine letters from the ſpurious, by applying what cannot be fixed to what is equally unſtable. If he were to take the word *ſovereign*, as an example, whereby to diſcover ſome inconſiſtency, which might be fatal to *the ſpurious*, what would he gain by his example, but a confutation of his own principles, after I have ſhown, diſtinctly, that Elizabeth hath ſpelt that familiar word, in *ſix* different modes? He has, in fact, adopted *your*, *ſhall*, *ther*, *be*, *for*; as words uniformly ſpelt by her; yet, have I ſhown *yowr*, *ſhal*, *theyre*, *bee*, *fore*, as direct contrarieties to that uniformity; without eſſaying to prove "this learned Queen, "who was miſtreſs of eight languages, to be "ſuch *a dolt* as not to know the true ortho-"graphy of words thus familiar to her (*y*)." Truth ſtrikes *the ſhears and meaſure* from his hand; yet does he continue to ſet out, with *nimble haſte*, but without a yard, his *linſy-woolſy*, in open market. Candid inquirers often diſcover, and eſtabliſh uncertainties from a certainty: It was reſerved for our Inquirer, to

(*y*) Mal. Inquiry, p. 71: No; ſhe, he, or they, only are *dolts*, who reaſon *abſurdly* from the plaineſt topics; who are continually *aſſerting* inſtead of *arguing*; and who are, ever-and-anon, begging the queſtion, which they ought to prove.

attempt

attempt the Herculean task of *establishing the same uncertainty* from *uncertainties*.

Such, however, is the perseverance, and courage, of the public accuser, that he is *no whitte* dismayed. He challenges *all comers* to show, that *and* was ever spelt with a final *e*, as it is in Elizabeth's epistle to Shakspeare: "I never once found the copulative *and*," he asseverates, "spelt as it is here, with a final *e*," though "from the time of Henry the fourth, "I have perused some thousand deeds and "other manuscripts (*z*)." This is, no doubt, a long life (from the time of Henry IV) of painful perusal, but not successful search! Among the black-letter books, which he has, carefully, collected, he has not, it seems, the very black-letter (*a*) book, which contains, not indeed some thousands, but several *ands* with the final *e*. Here are two, in a short passage: "And*e* yf I have not that repentaunce, "even from the bottome of my herte, and*e* "beleve not that I am forgeven for Chrystes "sake, as aforesayde (*b*)." Yet, our challenger, because *The Lamentacyon* is not in his library, disputes the authority of this curious

(*z*) Inquiry, 33.

(*a*) See *The lamentacyon of a Christē agaīst the Citye of London, for some certaine greate vyces used Therīn:—Imprīted ī ye yere of our Lord m. d. xlviii.*

(*b*) Sign. e. iiii.

book,

book, which will be *conſigned to fame*, for having confuted this irrefragable critic. I will, however, quote a book, which he certainly has in his library (*c*). On the 24th of May 1517, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the Earl of Shrewſbury: "Methinke I nede "not to be put to this buſineſs, if they would "have pondered the charge that they have "put of late unto me, *ande* the paymentes "that I have made of late." Yet, the public accuſer will not be convinced; becauſe this quotation is not from a manuſcript (*d*). Now, then, will I convince him, by quoting a manuſcript:—"Goode *Maſter* Stonley I doo "moſte harteylye requyre youe to have pa-"cyence w^t me *ande* to concyder what ex-"treme charge I have been at whyche forced "me to that I was lothe to breake w^t. youe "off all men Gode by [be] they [the] juge "Nevertheles at halloutyde I will w^t. godes "grace fullye recompence youe ſo in they "[the] meane tyme I moſte hartely requyre "youe to have pacyence.

"*Youres* aſuredly, E: Duddeley (*e*)."

This,

(*c*) Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. i. p. 22.

(*d*) The manuſcript letter is in the College of Heralds.

(*e*) This letter, which bears upon ſeveral parts of this inquiry,

This, then, is not one of the thouſand manuſcripts, which our critic has been peruſing, from Henry the Fourth's time to the preſent (*f*)!

He is equally poſitive, on the word *forre*; "a mode of orthography, I believe, unprecedented," ſays he (*g*). Yet, he has frequently read, becauſe he has often quoted, *Fenn's Letters*; in which he ſaw *ferr* and *ferre* for *far*; and Byffor, *Byfore*, *wherffor*, and *wherfoir* (*h*): But, he has not read, what would not have done him any diſſervice, as a

inquiry, was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Craven Orde of Bloomſbury ſquare, from his curious Collection. It is addreſſed: "To my verye louyng friend Maſter Ston-"ley." [Stanley!—It is marked, on the back, in a hand of the time "The L. Dudley, C X, li-febr. 1572."—For this Lord Edward Dudley, who died on the 4th of July 1586, See Dugdale's Bar. tom. ii. p. 216-17.

(*f*) Nor, has our critic been peruſing the ROLLS OF PARLIAMENT, wherein he would have ſeen the familiar copulative with a final *e*, and alſo a curious ſpecimen of the Engliſh language, in Judge Rikhill's anſwer to the Commiſſion of his liege Loord, during the year 1397: "*Ande* the ſame day of Septembre, alle the matieres and "points before iknowe and confeſſid be the forſſaide Duk "be his owne honde fully and plainly iwrete, deliverid it "to the ſame William Rikhill." [ROLLS, vol. iii. p. 378.]

(*g*) Inquiry, 34.

(*h*) Vol. ii. p. 204—234—244—70; vol. i. p. 21—27—28—29—30.

critic, " *The fflores of Ouide de arte amandi* " *with theyr englyſshe afore* (*i*) *them*;" wherein he would have ſeen a *precedent* of *forre* (*j*). He, however, diſputes the authority; whilſt,—

" ——— No power in England
" Can alter a decree eſtabliſh'd:
" 'Twill be recorded for a *precedent!*

There are other words in Elizabeth's epiſtle, which our *poſitive* critic thinks equally unprecedented. *Maiſter* was the ſpelling of the word *Maſter*, at that period, in our *Maiſter*'s vocabulary. But, in Dudley's Letter to Stonley, we have, repeatedly, ſeen *Maſter*. And he might have read in Spenſer's *Three* (*k*) *Letters*, which he quotes, at times; " But, " Maſter Colin Clout is not every body; and " albeit his olde companions *Maſter* Cuddey, " and *Maſter* Hobbinol, be as little beholding

(*i*) Imprynted by Wynkyn de Worde, with the types of Caxton, in 1513. This book is the more valuable, as it has an *Englyſshe Alphabete*.

(*j*) Sign. A iii: and ſee the *Literary Muſeum* of that very chaſte editor Mr. Waldron, printed in 1792, *forre ſomme boune ſoothe poeſye of Maiſter Lydgate*:—

" *Forre* gyffe you doe me jubylye."

Had our critic peruſed this fine ſpecimen of *genuine* orthography, he had ſaved the trouble of much laborious reading to himſelf, and of fatiguing peruſal to his readers.

(*k*) *Three Proper Letters*, imprinted by Bynneman, in 1580. p. 40.

" to their miſtreſſe poetrie, as ever you " wiſt." Hacluyt dedicated his *Divers* (*l*) *Voyages*, " To the right worſhipfull and moſt " vertuous gentleman *Maſter* Phillip Sydney " Eſquire." Pulton dedicated his *Penal* (*m*) *Statutes*, " To the right worſhipfull Sir Wil- " liam Cordell, Knight, *Maſter* of the Roules :" and Pulton treated of *Maſter*, and Servant. This orthography occurs very frequently in the dedications of books, during the reign of Elizabeth (*n*). And the ſame mode of ſpelling *Maſtyr*, may be traced back to the times of our Edwards, and Henrys (*o*). Nothing but the

(*l*) Imprinted by Wodcocke, 1582.

(*m*) It was imprinted by C. Barker the Queen's printer, in 1578.

(*n*) Spenſer dedicated his 64th ſonnet, to his eſteemed friend *Maſter* James Huiſh.—See a Type, or Figure, of Friendſhip, printed, in 1589 : and ſee Fouldes's *Frogs and Mice*, 1603 : and ſee, though laſt, not leaſt, Aſcham's Scole*maſter*, in 1571.

(*o*) See Fenn's Letters, every where. In 1460-1, To my Maſter Paſton, vol. iii. p. 404. In 1461, To the right worſhipfull *Maſt*r my maſter—Ib. vol. iv. and in p. 72, the right worſhipfull *Maſtre*, my maſter. In 1468, John Paſton wrote to his mother : " Recommend me to my ſiſters both " and to the *Maſtyr* my coſyn Dowbeny, Syr Jamys, Syr " John Style and pray him to be good *maſtyr* to lyttle Jak " and to lerne him well." [Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 8, 9 ; and ſee *Maſtres*, vol. iv. Fenn, p. 18—130—224.—In the

the film, which ſcepticiſm has ſpread over *Maiſter Critic*'s eyes, could have prevented him from ſeeing, every where, in his black-letter library, *Maſter*, *Maſtyr*, and *Maſtres*; as I have often ſeen *Maiſter*, and *Maiſtreſs*, in my little collection. Biſhop Hall will furniſh the beſt apology, for all of us, when he ſays; "It is no *ſhame*, *not*, *to know all things*; "but it is a *juſt ſhame* to *over-reach in any* "*thing* (*p*)."

But, our candid critic continues to talk about uniform orthography, in *an age*, *which heard of none*. He ſays, "the omiſſion of "the letter *r* in *Chamberlayne* is unprece-"dented (*q*)." Whoever told him ſo is not very ſucceſsful, in ſearching for precedents.

2d vol. p. 295, there is a Love-letter from John Paſton to Maſtreſſe Annes. He repeats *Maſtreſſe* ſix times: But he never calls her *Meiſtreſſe* in the ungallant orthography of our Waldrons, and Malones. I obſerve from collation, that Mr. Malone does not fairly print Elizabeth's letter to Sydney [papers, 6-7-8] as it is in the book, which he quoted for the ſpelling of *Maiſtres*.

(*p*) Works, 1634, p. 13.

(*q*) Inquiry 69-70: Yet, ſee Lord Burghley's letter of the 22d July 1577, to Lord Shrewſbury, in Lodge's Ill. vol. ii. 159:—"This morning, the 23, I receaved your L. "of the 21, being here at on[e] Mr Chamb-le-'s near "Caxton."—Lord Burghley frequently uſed the figure of *ſyncope*, which, indeed, was often practiſed in that age.

He

He anſwers, cogently; "If the Queen had "choſen to omit any letter in that word, it "would have been the *m*." No: The ſnarling letter *r* was the rough letter, that the "accompliſhed Elizabeth" would naturally omit, when ſhe wiſhed to write, in her beſt manner: Writing an epiſtle to a poet, who had gratified her paſſion, ſhe, who was miſtreſs of eight languages, choſe to *Italianize* her phraſe, according to the faſhion of her court; ſo, ſhe wrote *Chambelayne*, in order to approach, as near as the idiom of her own tongue would allow, to the Italian *Cambellano*, and the French *Chambellan* (*r*): It was upon this principle, that ſhe omitted the *gh* in *higheſt*, and gave ſuch a variety of ſpelling to (*s*) *ſovereign*, whatever he may think of the ſpelling of that period of her reign.

Yet, is it more material, he ſays, to advert to *Londonne*; thinking *London*, "lighter in "the (*t*) mouth;" and finding "no example "of ſuch orthography." They "who make "ſearches into antiquity," ſays (*u*) Howell, "may be ſaid to paſs often through many

(*r*) See Skinner, 1671, in Vo.—Chamberlain.

(*s*) Inquiry, 113-14.

(*t*) Inquiry, 70.

(*u*) In the advertiſement to his LONDINOPOLIS.

" *dark lobbies*, and duſky places, before they " come to *aula lucis*, the great hall of light." Our celebrated Londinopolis was, in the time, and talk of Tacitus, *Londinum copia negotiatorum*. Our Britiſh anceſtors called it, ſignificantly, (*v*) *Llongdin*, *Lhong-porth*, or port of ſhips. Our Saxon fathers wrote it (*w*) *Lunden-byrig*, *Lunden-bury*, *Lunden-ceaſter*, and *Lunden-burgh* (*x*). Our critical inquirer, nevertheleſs, paſſes over thoſe varieties of our *anceſtors*, to get at *London*, the unmeaning corruption of modern times. But, Elizabeth, who was vain of her Britiſh anceſtry, and ambitious of learning, as Mr. Malone is ſtudious to tell, ſeized the occaſion of inditing a remunerative epiſtle to a poet, to diſplay her *archæology*, by writing *Londonne*, a more ſonorous name than *London*. She found, in the Saxon Chronicle, which ſhe, no doubt, read, the archetype of her ſpelling, in *Lundene*, *Lundune*, and *Londone* (*y*). In the courſe of his

(*v*) Strype's Stow, vol. i. p. 5—8; Holland's Camden, 1637. p. 421.

(*w*) Saxon Chron. edit. Gibſon, p. 96-97.

(*x*) Somner, in Vo.

(*y*) See Gibſon's *Nominum Locorum*, in Vo. *Lundene*. As Mr. Malone inſiſts, poſitively, that Elizabeth uſually read the books of the privy council; I may reaſonably argue,

his reſearches, our diligent inquirer has, neither met with any of thoſe modes of ſpelling *Londinopolis*, nor has he ſeen it, in any other than the modern form of *London* (*z*): And, in conformity to his uſual logic, he thence infers, that its orthography never exiſted in any other form. I have, however, ſhewn, from *the fact*, the fallacy of this argument. He talked, in the ſame manner, of Hamptown Court, till accident threw in his way a ſolitary (*a*) inſtance, which might have convinced

argue, on the authority of Aſcham, her *Scolemaſter*, that ſhe may have peruſed that delectable book, the Saxon Chronicle. Londinopolis is *Lundene* in the map, which is prefixed to Gibſon's edition of the Saxon chronicle.

(*z*) We may, therefore, ſuppoſe, that he has never inſpected Queen Elizabeth's *Progreſſes*, as they have been publiſhed by the praiſe-worthy Mr. Nichols: For, he would have ſeen, in the *Proclamation againſt the Queen of Scots*, 1586, [vol. ii. p. 231.] the following paſſage, which muſt be admitted to be a deciſive authority: "With loud voyce "ſolemnely proclaymed by the Serjeant at Armes of the "ſame citty, in foure ſeverall places; to wit, at the Croſſe "in Cheape, at the end of Chauncery-lane in Fleete-ſtreet, "overagainſt the Temple, at Leadenhall corner, and at "St. Magnus corner, neere LONDONNE bridge."

(*a*) Inquiry, 70-71, Hamp*town* Court, *written* by a *Clerk*. The document in Forbes's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 109, is a letter from Elizabeth to Sir Adrian Ponyings; and for aught that appears was written, with her uſual induſtry, in

vinced him of the futility of his own reasoning, and the sophistry of his own system. But, he is in constant habits of retraction: and he may perhaps find other *solitary* instances, which may convince him, that he ought to be less positive in his assertion, and more consecutive in his argument.

Yet; he is resolved to retract no more: He is determined to be doubly positive in his assertions, and four-fold feeble in his proofs. "All former MISNOMERS, are trivial, says he, "compared with her [Elizabeth's] not know-"ing the true orthography of the name of "Leycester, for which we have *Leycesterre*. "Her uniform attachment to that nobleman

her own hand; but not by a clerk, for which assertion, there is no evidence: If the document in the Paper Office be a draught, it is most probably in Burghley's hand, who, when secretary of state, was generally her draughts-man. In this strain of sophistry, our inquirer goes on to remark, that this solitary instance "probably gave rise to the spelling "adopted in this forged letter." [Inquiry, 71.] But, for this assumption, there is not the least proof; and it is scarcely consistent with probability. The name is Ham*tun* in the Saxon Chronicle; and in Huntingdon's History *Hamtune*. [Gibson's edit. nom. Loc. in Vo. *Hamtun*.] The spelling, of course, in Elizabeth's epistle—Hamp*town*, is more analogical than Hampton. [See Johnson in Vo. *Town*; tun, Saxon; tuyn, Dutch.] In the map of Middlesex, 1593, John Norden has Ham*p*ton, and Ham*t*on-court; so little attention was there, in those days, to analogical accuracy!

"is

" is well known; probably, ſcarce a day paſ-
" ſed, without her ſeeing his name, uniformly
" written, as he always wrote it, LEYCES-
" TER (*b*)." Strange! then, that Elizabeth did not know how to ſpell the name of her favourite, Leyceſter. It is ſtranger ſtill, that a critic, of ſo much acumen as Mr. Malone, ſhould not know, that there was no attention to ſuch matters, in an age of unſyſtematic ſpelling. Was not BURGHLEY another name for learning, diſcretion, and diligence? Did not he daily ſign diſpatches, on the ſame paper, with Leiceſter (*c*)? And yet, Burleigh ſpelt the favourite's name Leceſter (*d*). The Earls of Derby, and Shrewſbury, wrote to the chancellor, and the treaſurer, two days after the death of Leiceſter, a letter of condolence on the death of their noble *frende the Erle* of *Leiceſter*; and to offer their ſervices to the

(*b*) Inquiry, 72: Whether the text of *The Miſcellaneous Papers* has Leyceſterre, or Leiſceſterre, is ſomewhat doubtful.

(*c*) See a very ſhort letter from Leyceſter, and Cecil, to Lord Shrewſbury, in Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 20; and, though they both had frequent letters from Lord *Shrewſbury*; yet, they addreſſed him by the name of *Shroveſbury*: And Burghley is ſo little uniform in ſpelling the name of a nobleman, with whom he was familiar, that he calls him Shrowſbury. [Ib. 164.]

(*d*) Ib. 164.

Queen.

Queen (*e*). Mr. Secretary Walſyngham preferred *Leiceſter* to *Leyceſter* (*f*): And the Lord Buckhurſt followed his example (*g*). Elizabeth calls him ſometimes *Leyceſter*, and alſo "our coſin, the Earl of *Leiceſter* (*h*):" So little conſiſtency had Beſs in her ſpelling, of her *cooſin*'s-names, that ſhe wrote Shrew*s*bury, and Shrew*es*bury, in the ſame (*i*) epiſtle; omitting, by *ſyncope*, the *e* in the firſt, as if to proteſt againſt the theory of our pertinacious critic.

But, the ſcepticiſm of the public accuſer is not to be ſhaken. From having juſt thrown his eyes on the books of the privy council,

(*e*) The Biſhop of Carliſle alſo called him *Leiceſter*. [Ib. 172.] In the map of Weſtminſter, John Norden has *Ley*-ceſter-howſe; in the map of London, *Lei*-ceſter-howſe.

(*f*) Cabala, part 2d. p. 49.

(*g*) Ib. 44-5.

(*h*) Ib. 26. Mr. Malone is poſitive, that the favourite "always wrote it *Leyceſter*." [Inquiry, 72.] Yet, ſee a genuine letter of Leiceſter's, in his *Life*, 1727, appendix No. 6; wherein he ſigned "Rob. *Leiceſter*;" And ſee Peck's *Deſiderata*, 104,-5-6-11-12-13-14; wherein he ſigned R. Leceſter, half a dozen times; and often *Ro.* Leceſter. [Ib. 97—104-5.] There are, in Peck's DESIDERATA, ſeveral of Leiceſter's letters, which prove, that Leiceſter had not any uniformity in his ſignature, either in his title, or baptiſmal name.

(*i*) Lodge II. vol. ii. 82.

on

on ſome cloudy day, he grows firmer in his faith. In thoſe curious, and inſtructive, *records*, he finds, with ſharper ſight than others, what no other peruſer had ever found in them: "For," he ſays, "the Queen, it is *well known*, "*conſtantly* attended the ſittings of her privy "council," "and took ſo active a part at "what was doing, that we may be ſure ſhe "peruſed the regiſter of each day's proceed-"ings; which ſhe could not look at without "the name of Leyceſter almoſt conſtantly "preſenting itſelf to her, while he was in "England (a liſt of the councillors preſent "being always ſet down) (*k*)."—Now, I join iſſue with the public accuſer on his ſeveral aſſertions:—Whoever has peruſed the council regiſters of the Queen's reign *well knows*, that ſhe did NOT *conſtantly* attend the ſittings of her privy council. The record, containing *the preſence*, or *ſpecification* of the *counſellors* preſent, contradicts the *averment* of the public accuſer, which he, as a *lawyer*, ought not to have made. I will not quote the regiſters generally, in confutation of his *confidence*; becauſe *artifice* deals in *generals*: But, I quote

(*k*) Inquiry, 72-3;—which I have printed, exactly, as the paſſage is in the book.

the

the regiſters of *the preſence*, ſpecifically, in order to prove, that ſhe was not preſent, on the 1ſt of June 1586, at Greenwich; on the 10th, at the Star-chamber; on the 12th, at Greenwich; on the 17th of July, at Richmond; on the 26th of Auguſt, at Windſor: Nor, was ſhe preſent on the 21ſt of November 1587, at Ely-houſe, in Holborn; nor, on the 23d, at the lord treaſurer's, in Covent-garden; nor at Ely-houſe, on the 28th; nor, at Somerſet-houſe, on the 10th of December; nor, at Greenwich, on the 24th: Nor, was ſhe preſent, at the Star-chamber, on the 6th of February 1588; nor, at Greenwich, on the 12th of April; *nor at Hackney, on the 19th*, when the Lord of Leyceſterre was preſent; nor, at Greenwich, on the 21ſt of April 1588 (*l*). And, theſe ſpecifications are alone ſufficient to ſhow the prudence of the law of England, which, contrary to the practice of

(*l*) The regiſters, No. 6, and 7, comprehending the years 1585-6-7-8, demonſtrate, that the Queen did not *conſtantly attend*; that the councils did not meet *daily*, as the inquirer aſſerts;—[Inquiry, 92] And that the number of privy counſellors, in her reign, was *eighteen*, and *twenty-one*, inſtead of *ten* or *twelve*, as he avers, in the ſame page: And, I have gone over the regiſters thus minutely; in order to ſhow the boldneſs of the public accuſer, in quoting the books of the privy council, for what they do not contain.

the

the public accuſer, will not allow any *averment* againſt a *record*.

Yet, in oppoſition to both *law*, and *logic*, he continues his *averments*. "We may be ſure," he ſays, "the Queen peruſed *the regiſter* of each day's proceedings (*m*)." Nay; Aſcham, the *ſcolemaſter* of Elizabeth, gives a very different account of her *daily* ſtudies. He calls out ſhame upon the *yonge jentlemen* of England, who did not "beſtow ſo many houres "dayly, orderly, and conſtantly, for the in-"creaſe of learning, as dothe the Queene's "Majeſtie herſelf:" And he adds, "yea, ſhe "readeth more Greeke every day, than ſome "prebendarie of this church doth read *Latin* "in a whole weeke (*n*)." Now, I leave it to the judgment of every diſcreet perſon, whether the *ſcolemaſter* of Elizabeth, or the public accuſer, could beſt know, and moſt truly tell, what Elizabeth daily peruſed; whether the Greek claſſics, or the council-regiſters. But, I will admit, for the purpoſe of argument, that ſhe did peruſe the regiſters; which, ſays (*o*) he, "She could not look at without the name "of Leyceſter almoſt conſtantly preſenting

(*m*) Inquiry, 73. (*n*) The Scolemaſter, 1571, p. 21.

(*o*) Inquiry, 73.

"itſelf

" itſelf to her." She ſaw, then, on the regiſter of the 1ſt of April 1587, Leyceſtre, and Leiceſter (*p*): So that, from a careful peruſal of the council-regiſters, ſhe might have learnt to ſpell the name of her favourite in *ſix* different forms; ſince it is found there, in *ſix diſtinct varieties*. " Now, if you can bluſh, and " cry guilty, cardinal, you'll ſhew a little " honeſty!"

But, the public accuſer goes on, coolly, to (*q*) diſcuſs, whether Elizabeth could have ſeen, either in the council-regiſters, or in printed books, the word *compliment*, which was *not* known, *in that age*, in the modern ſenſe. He certainly ſhews great reading, in

(*p*) The regiſter, No. 7, p. 311; and on p. 328, Leiceſtre; and p. 337, the name is ſpelt Leiceſter, Leiceſtre; on p. 340, the name is ſpelt Leiceſtre: on the 23d of November, ſhe ſaw Leiceſter, and Leiceſtre, Leyceſter, and Leyceſtre: And, in the 5th regiſter, p. 423, ſhe might have ſeen Leyceſtor,.—He is named, by a document of the 20 Elizabeth, in the paper office, the Earl of *Leſter*, maſter of the horſe: And he is called *Leceſter*, in Nichols's Progreſſes, vol. i. p. 58; and in Peck's *Deſiderata*, 118:—Upon the whole, I have ſhewn *eight* varieties, in ſpelling the name of Leiceſter, which Elizabeth both may have ſeen, and might have copied.

(*q*) Inquiry, 76-8.

many

many (*r*) dictionaries; in order to prove, that the Queen could neither *compliment* herſelf, nor be *complimented* by men of compliments. Strange! that for ſuch a purpoſe, he would ranſack the ſtorehouſes of learning, rather than look into the faſhions of life. He might have found an affecting letter to the Earl of Southampton, from the Earl of Eſſex, *when he was under ſentence of* (*s*) *death*, which had ſaved himſelf much trouble, and the reflections of his readers:—"My Lord; as neither nature, nor "cuſtom, ever made me a man of *compli-* "*ments*; ſo now I ſhall have leſs will than "heretofore to uſe ſuch ceremonies, when I "have left to *Martha* to be *ſolicita circa* "*multa*, and believe with Mary, that *unum* "*ſufficit:* But, it is no *compliment*, or cere- "mony, but a real and neceſſary duty, that "one friend owes to another in abſence, and "eſpecially at their leave taking." We perceive, then, though the ſcepticiſm of our critic

(*r*) In Edward Phîlips [Phillips] *New World of Words*, which, he thinks, firſt appeared in 1659, [1658] we have compliment in its original, and ſecondary ſenſe. [Inquiry, p. 78.] He knows not, he ſays, when the firſt edition of Coles's *Engliſh* Dictionary was publiſhed. [Ib. 81.] The title-page of my copy ſhows it to have been publiſhed, in 1676; as his *Latin* Dictionary was firſt printed, in 1677.

(*s*) Howard's Col. p. 52.

cannot

cannot ſee it, how common the word was, in that age. Shakſpeare has the very expreſſion of Eſſex, "*A man of compliments* (*t*)." "He "obſerved few *compliments*, in matters of "arms," ſays Sydney, at an earlier period. Yet, the public accuſer can ſcarcely be perſuaded, that the ſubſtantive compliment was uſed in Elizabeth's reign (*u*): But, he is poſitive, that the verb *to compliment* did not then exiſt. Hamlet, however, when the players came to entertain him, ſaid; "Gentlemen, you "are welcome to Elſinoor; your hands: come, "then; the appurtenance of welcome is faſhion, "and ceremony: let me *compliment* with you "in this garbe (*v*)." Mr. Malone, indeed, has diſplaced *compliment*, and inſerted *comply*, in its (*w*) room, though, with what propriety, I

(*t*) Love's Labour Loſt, act 1, ſ. 1; as Mr. Malone allows: And ſee Ayſcough's Index in Vo. *Compliments*, how frequently Shakſpeare has the word, and has it oftener than the Index ſhows; as he alſo has the adjective *complimental*, which is *cooſyn* to the verb.

(*u*) The Engliſh ambaſſador, Sir Henry Neville, wrote from Paris, on the 20th of February $\frac{1599}{1600}$, to Mr. Secretary Cecil: "I went to *complementiſe* with the extraordinary "ambaſſador of Venice:—our ſpeech was little beſides "*compliments*: — We parted with kind *compliments*." [Winwood's Mem. vol. i. p. 154.]

(*v*) Hanmer's Edit. 1745. vol. vi. p. 360.

(*w*) Mal. Shak. vol. ix. p. 269.

will

will not inquire. I will now produce an authority, which the public accuſer cannot ſo readily diſplace, nor eaſily diſpute. Among *the inſtructions*, which Lord Burghley left to his ſon, Robert Cecil, there is the following precept: "Be ſure to keep ſome great man "thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. "*Compliment* him often with many, yet ſmall "gifts, and of little charge (*x*)." Now, here is *the verb* to compliment, expreſsly uſed by Lord Burghley, who perfectly knew what he wrote, both as to ſentiment, and ſtyle. But, whether Marſton, the ſatiriſt, knew his own meaning, in the following lines, I pretend not to divine:—

"But, now this *jugler*, with the worlds conſent,
"Hath halfe his ſoul; the other, *compliment*,
"Mad world the whilſt. But, I forget me, I,
"I am ſeduced with this poeſie (*y*)."

Without pretending to know, whether Marſton intended, in this *poeſie*, to uſe *compliment*,

(*x*) Peck's *Deſiderata*, vol. i. p. 49. Sir George Buc has the following expreſſions, in his *Dedication* of the Treatiſe, on *The Third Univerſity*, to Sir Edward Coke, dated the 12th of Auguſt, 1612: "And albeit I doe not (in *com-* "*plimenting* manner) make daily profeſſion of this my obligation, as many uſe to do; yet, &c. [Howe's Chronicle, 1065.] Here is the *participle* of the verb *to compliment*.

(*y*) Marſton's Scourge of Villanie, 1599, Sig^r. H 2:— *Stultorum plena ſunt omnia.*

as a ſubſtantive, or a verb, I will only add, for the ſake of thoſe, who are curious in tracing the ramifications of our language, as it *buds*, *bloſſommes*, and fades, that there was publiſhed, before *the Reſtoration*, the *Art of* (z) *Complimenting*; an art, which was ſufficiently known, and often practiſed, during Elizabeth's reign.

From a diſquiſition on compliments, it was eaſy to diverge to the epithet, *prettye*. The uſage of the times did not allow Elizabeth, as the public accuſer pretends, to compliment the *prettye verſes* of Shakſpeare. Skelton had ſhewn her father how a *parrot* could be (a) praiſed; uſing the very epithet:

" Parrot is a goodly byrd, a *pretty* popagey:
" Hagh, ha, ha; parrot, ye can laugh *pretyly*.

Ascham put the epithet, no doubt, into " the ynkhorn" of his " Mayden" Scholar: For, he indites of " Men in Italy, who were " ſo unnatural, as to hate *prettie* yong vir-

(z) See *Wit's Interpreter*, the 3d edit. 1671. " Prefixed " is a figure of Shakſpeare," which emulates the " *Chando-* " *ſan* canvas," for its great likeneſs of the gentle original. James Shirley publiſhed, in 1631, a comedy, entitled, " *The* " *School* of *Compliments*;" which was republiſhed, with his plays, in 1653.

(a) " Bokes of Skelton, poet laureat:" *Speak parrot*, &c. Imprinted by Abraham Weale, without the year.

" ginnes (*b*)." And, Shakſpeare himſelf has the word, in the ſonnets, which he ſent to Elizabeth, by the Lord *Chamberlayne:*

" Looking with *pretty* ruth upon my pain (*c*)."

Our great dramatiſt brought upon *the boards* a " wench of *excellent* diſcourſe, *pretty*, and " *witty* (*d*)." Yet, our ſceptical critic doubts, " whether the epithet *pretty* was then ap- " plied to *written* compoſitions (*e*)." Marſton would have removed his doubts, had he looked into the ſatiriſt's " Scourge of Vil- " lanie :"—

" Whatſoe're he *viewes*, thats *prety*, *prety* good,
" That epithete hath not that ſprightly blood."

(*b*) Scholemaſter, 1571, p. 29.—In the *Phœnix Neſt*, imprinted by Jackſon, in 1593, p. 59, Thomas Lodge has the following couplet:

" For pittie *pretie* eies ſurceaſe,
" To give me warre, and grant me peace."

In a comedy, which was written about the year 1602, and entitled " The Return from Parnaſſus," *Furor Poeticus* cries out: " Come *pretty* ſhort nos'd nymph; O ſweet " Thalia, I do kiſs thy foot."—*Furor* immediately adds:

" He is a *pretty* inventor of ſlight proſe;
" But, there's no ſpirit in his grov'ling ſpeech."

(*c*) Mal. Sup. vol. i. p. 690; ſonnet 132.

(*d*) Comedy of Errors, a. 3, ſ. 1. (*e*) Inquiry, 75.

Marſton, deſcending from his general topic, addreſſed a ſatire, "*Ad Rithmum :—*

"Come *pretty* pleaſing ſymphonie of word (*f*)."

Now, the *verſe* of Marſton was a written compoſition (*g*). But, our ſceptical critic might have completely cleared up his moſt ſceptical doubts, by reading any page of WEBBE's *Diſcourſe of Engliſh Poetry*, which was printed, in 1586. Treating of the different ſpecies of *poeſie*, *Webbe* ſays, "the third kind is a *pretty* round "verſe." He ſubjoins; "Behold the *pretty* "paſtoral contentions of Virgil in the third "ægloge." To this he adds, that Abraham Fleming has many *prety poeſis* [poems] of his own. We here ſee, that Webbe deciſively applies the epithet *pretty* to written compoſitions, as Elizabeth applied the ſame epithet

(*f*) Three Bookes of Satyres: Printed by J. R. Anno Dom. 1599, Sig^r. D.

"Be not ſo fearful (*pretty* ſoules) to meete,
"As *Flaccus* is the ſergeant's face to greete."

(*g*) See the Dedication of Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, where, in ſpeaking of writers, he ſays, "Boccace is "*prettie bard*, yet, underſtood: And our William Thomas "hath done *prettilie*."—William Thomas had publiſhed "The Italian Grammar and Dictionary." [Herbert, 875.] —On the margin of the tranſlation of Herodotus, imprinted by John Day, in 1583, fol. 21, b, there is the following note: "A *Prety Diſcourſe*; ſhewing the means how Cræ-"ſus and Aſtyages came to be of a kinne."

to

to the prettye verſes of Shakſpeare. During that age, it became proverbial to ſay, "Every "thing is *prettie*, when it is *little*." John Taylor, the water-poet, wrote an *epigram*, upon the proverb:

"There is a *ſaying old*, but not ſo wittie,
"That when a thing is little, it is *prettie*:
"This doating age of our's it finely fits;
"Where many men, thought wiſe, have *pretty* wits(*b*)."

But, whatever *doubts* our ſceptical critic may have about the epithet *pretty*, he has none about the impropriety of the word *our-ſelfe*, as an *unity*: He has never found it in any manuſcript of that age, written as *one* word. In the copious volume of our language, he could not have found a word more variouſly joined, and disjoined, than the pronoun *ſelf* (*i*). It was from Elizabeth her-ſelf, that he learned to make a disjunctive of this copulative, *ſelf*. When the Queen thanked the Earl, and Counteſs of Shrewſbury for their

(*b*) Works, 1630, p. 264, Taylor was born in 1584; and was, of courſe, the contemporary of Shakſpeare, though twenty years younger: The waterman muſt have often *ſculled* Shakſpeare, who is ſaid to have lived on *The Bank-ſide*: They muſt have chopp'd verſes together. If the converſations of the greateſt dramatiſt, with the greateſt water-poet, could be retrieved, what a prodigious diſcovery it would be: Let us not deſpair! Shakſpeare has the ſame play on *pretty* and *little*, in *Love's Labour Loſt*.

(*i*) See Johnſon, in Vo. *ſelf*.

rare preſent to her paramour, Leiceſter, ſhe (*k*) wrote; "in how thanckful ſorte we ac-
" cept the ſame at both your hands, not as
" done unto him but to *or owne ſelf*, reputing
" him as *annother our ſelf*." We herein ſee, indeed, how Elizabeth could ſeparate, and conjoin, her deareſt object. But, our inquirer ought to have gone back, to her grandfather's time, for a genuine ſpecimen of the unity of the word *ſelf*. Lord Bacon (*l*) ſays, that the inſtructions, which Henry 7th gave to his ambaſſadors, when he ſent them to woo the young Queen of Naples, were *exquiſitely* penned. Here they are (*m*): "Inſtruccionns geven
" by the Kinges Highneſſe to his truſty and
" well beloved ſervauntes Franceys Marſyn,
" James Baybroke, and John Stile, ſhewing
" how they ſhall order *theymſelf* when they ſhall
" come to the preſence of the old Quene of
" Naples and the young Quene hir doughter."
The anſwers are ſtill more *exquiſitely* penned. A ſhort example will prove ſeveral points:
" As we be informyd that the ſaid quynes
" have their logeynges *everyche* of theym ſe-

(*k*) Lodge, II. vol. ii. 155. (*l*) Hiſtory of Henry 7.

(*m*) The inſtructions of Henry 7th to his ambaſſadors were printed for Becket and De Hondt, in 1761.

" veral

" veral by *theymſelfe* and *everyche* of theyme " have their ſervantes men women and ſclavis " by *theym ſelfe* not w^t ſtondeynge the ſaid " quynes do kepe their aſtates & howſe " holdys bothe jointly togethers as *oon* houſe- " hold."—And, Henry 8th did not diſparage the ſtyle of his father (*n*). This *exquiſite* writing had not become quite unfaſhionable in Elizabeth's days. In her aforeſaid letter of thanks to Lord and Lady Shrewſbury, ſhe tells them; " Ye might think *yourſelfes* moſt " unhappye yf yae ſrved [here is a fine ſpe- " cimen of the *ſyncope*] ſuch a prince as " ſhould not be as readye gratyouſlie to con- " ſider of yt or thankfullie to acknowledge " the ſame." *Self*, at that reſplendent pe- riod, was much uſed in compoſition; and, by Shakſpeare, often very harſhly, as Johnſon has well exemplified (*o*). Yet, Spenſer has paint-

(*n*) In Henry 8th. *Anſwere unto a certayne* letter of Martyn Luther;—" which boke, ſaith the royal author, we " regardynge (as it was worthy) cõtempned and nat wolde " vouche ſafe any thing to reply reputyng *ourſelfe* in " Chriſt's cauſe, (nat to good with a right meane man to rea- " ſon or cõtrary) but nothing metely fruteleſſe with a leude " Frere to rayle." [Herbert's Printers, vol. i. p. 298.]

(*o*) Johnſon, in Vo. *Self.*

ed *self*, ſo ſtrikingly, as to furniſh our artiſt with a fine ſubject:

" Before the door, ſat *ſelfe*-conſuming *care*,
" Day and night, keeping wary watch, and ward."

Recollecting Shakſpeare's wench of *excellent diſcourſe*, our ſceptical critic only *heſitates diſlike* to the *excellence* of Shakſpeare's verſes, as expreſſed by Elizabeth. He calls on the believers, to produce an example of the word *excellence* being applied, in that age, to written compoſitions: He knows of no ſuch example (*p*). Had he looked into the *Concordance*, he would have found in the Engliſh Bible, the word *excellence* applied to almoſt every thing in art, or nature, written and unwritten (*q*).

He doth not, however, *heſitate diſlike* to the word *amuſe:* He was quite ſcandalized, that Elizabeth, who underſtood eight languages, ſhould uſe the word *amuze*, which, in its preſent ſenſe, is perfectly modern (*r*). He runs over the beadroll of dictionaries; of Barrett, and Bullokar, Cawdrey, Cockeram, and Kerſey,

(*p*) Inquiry, 79.

(*q*) See the Colophon of *The hyſtory Sege and deſtruccion of* TROYE, printed by Pynſon in 1513:

" Go lytell boke (and put the in the grace
" Of hym that is) moſte of *excellence*."

(*r*) Inquiry, 81.

Sherwood

Sherwood, and Philips [Phillips]; in order to make out his point. Coles is the firſt lexicographer, who furniſhed him with an example of "*amuſe*" to put [one] "in a dump," though he knows not when Coles firſt publiſhed his Engliſh Dictionary (*s*). Why will our critic make a parade with his lexicographers, without looking into the very dictionary, which would have ſhown him *amuſe* in the preſent ſenſe. In Howel's *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, an Engliſh-French-Italian-Spaniſh Dictionary, which he compiled, before the Reſtoration, and publiſhed in (*t*) 1660, our inquirer would have found *to amuſe, amuſed, an amuſer, an amuſement*. It were worthy of his philological diligence to inquire, whether language exiſted before dictionaries; or dictionaries before language. His inquiries would probably find that, though the Engliſh language had been ſpoken, and written, for ages, yet, that the origin of Engliſh dictionaries, and the birth of Elizabeth, have nearly the ſame

(*s*) It was firſt publiſhed, in 1676.

(*t*) This large *peece of Induſtry*, was dedicated by Howel to Charles 2d, in May 1660, "when the diſmal clowd, "which had put a ſea of ſeparation between the king and "his ſubjects, was ſcattered in leſs than *twelve hours*, to the "wonderment of mankind."

epoch.

epoch (*u*). As amuſements had long exiſted in England; ſo the word, in its various forms, exiſted there, before Howell placed them in his alphabet. Cotgrave, as quoted by Mr. Malone, certainly uſed the word *amuſe*, in 1611. If it exiſted in our language before Howell uſed it; may not the word have alſo exiſted in it, before it was written by Cotgrave? Elizabeth, and Shakſpeare, were not only amuſed themſelves, but were the cauſe of amuſement in others, before Cotgrave, "the pioneer of literature, was driven by the "fear of evil, to labour at one of the lower "employments of life."

Yet, is it one of the fallacies, which abound in *The Inquiry*, to ſuppoſe, that a word does not exiſt in our language, becauſe the critic cannot find it in his library. If a dictionary be a *ſelection*, rather than a *collection*, of the words in our *maternall Englyſhe*; a dictionary cannot afford a deciſive proof of the non-exiſtence of a word, in ſome other book,

(*u*) In fact, there did not exiſt, at the birth of Elizabeth, any dictionary of "oure maternall Englyſhe tongue:" as may be inferred from the ſilence of Herbert, though there doubtleſs were vocabularies of Engliſh and Latin: The *Promptorius Puerorum*, printed by Pynſon, in 1499, was the firſt *Engliſh*, and Latin, dictionary. Herbert, vol. i. p. 248.

which

which the lexicographer may never have read. And it is a fallacy, which, in the ſame manner, contaminates every page of the Inquiry, to ſuppoſe, that a word was, for the firſt time, introduced into our ſpeech, when it was firſt arranged in our dictionaries; as if lexicography were coeval with our language. Such is the abſurdity of *negative* arguments, which are, as unfounded in *fact*, as they are fallacious in *reaſoning*. A critic muſt be weak, indeed, who argues, that a word does not exiſt; becauſe he cannot find it: Still weaker muſt the critic be to inſiſt, that a book, conſiſting of many words, does not exiſt on earth; becauſe he cannot find it in his library. Every collector of curious ſpecimens of the typographic art is ambitious of poſſeſſing ſome black-letter book, which Ames had never ſeen, nor Herbert ever heard of. It is not, then, rational, for a commentator on Shakſpeare to inſiſt, that a writing of Shakſpeare does not exiſt; becauſe it is not in his collection (*v*). We may ſee this poſition exemplified

(*v*) I happen to poſſeſs, among my few books, Shakſpeare's VENUS *and* ADONIS, which was printed, in 1627, at Edinburgh, by John Wreitton, and "to bee ſold in his "ſhop a little beneath the Salt Trone:" Yet, this rare book

emplified in *the barrenneſs* of Capell's *Shakſpeariana*, after all his reſearch. If a book may be found in ſome library, though it be not in every library, may not a word be diſcovered by the thorough ſearch of a more penetrating eye, although it may have eſcaped the ſuperficial inſpection of a ſceptical inquirer? Indeed, as our great lexicographer has obſerved, *it is hard to keep a buſy eye ſteadily fixed upon evaneſcent atoms, or a diſcurſive mind upon evaneſcent truth.*

Thus much for the language of Elizabeth's epiſtle to Shakſpeare. We are now to examine the *ſuperſcription*; for what it is, and for what it is not (*w*). The particularity "*For Maſter* "*William Shakſpeare* at *the Globe bye Thames*," now rouſes ſcepticiſm from his apathy. His worſhip would have learned, from a little inquiry, that it was the faſhion of the age, and of Elizabeth, to be very circumſtantial in her ſuperſcriptions: Her famous letter of thanks, which has ſupplied ſo many inſtructive notices, ſhe directed "To our right truſtie, and "right wel-belovid Couſin and Counſellor

book is not mentioned by Mr. Malone, among the editions of Shakſpeare's poems; becauſe he ſuppoſed, no doubt, that it did not exiſt.

(*w*) Inquiry, 83.

"Th'

" Th' Erle of Shrewſbury, and to o^r. right " dere and right wel-beloved Couſin the " Counteſſe, *his Wyfe* (*x*)." Knowing, that there was then only one theatre of that name, ſhe was ſtrictly grammatical, in directing for a player, and writer of plays, at *the Globe*; which, ſtanding on *The Bankſide*, was fitly deſcribed as *bye* Thames (*y*). This *mayden* ſcholar would have incurred the cenſure of Aſcham, though at the ſame time enſured the praiſe of Mr. Malone, if ſhe had directed her own meſſenger, whoever he were, the maſter of her poſts, or the maſter of her revels, " to " make haſt, haſt, poſt haſt, for thy lif (*z*)."

After clearing from his way this traſh of words, our inquirer is ready to lay a ſtrong foundation of facts. " The Globe Theatre,"

(*x*) Lodge's Illuſt. vol. ii. p. 155: And ſee the very particular ſuperſcriptions of Burghley, every where, in the ſame book.

(*y*) See Skinner in Vo. *By* from the Anglo Saxon *Bi*, *Big*; *Prope*, *Juxta*: And hence, the *Agnomen*, or By-name. See alſo Johnſon in Vo. *By*; Beſide; near to; noting proximity of place: The Globe was certainly within eighty paces of the river, in that part, which has been greatly encroached on by embankment, during the laſt two centuries.

(*z*) See our inquirer's *amplifications* in p. 83-4; as if a controvertiſt, who was coming forward with an *anachroniſm*, wanted ſuch *verboſity*.

ſays

ſays he, "was not built at the *time* to which "this letter muſt be referred (*a*)." This letter, then, was either, written before the 4th of September 1588; or, it was never written: On that day, the Earl of Leiceſter, who was invited to the play, at Hampton-court, died, at Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, on his way to Kenelworth (*b*). If the Globe theatre were not built till after the 4th of September 1588, the anachroniſm would certainly prove the ſpuriouſneſs of Elizabeth's epiſtle. Yet, is it the buſineſs of the public accuſer to make out his point from facts, without truſting to negative reaſonings. Neither Aggas's map of London, which is ſuppoſed to have been made, in 1568; nor Vertue's engraving of a map of London, in 1560; nor Braun's map, in 1573; exhibit, ſays he, the leaſt trace of any playhouſe (*c*).

(*a*) Inquiry, 84.

(*b*) Dugdale's Warwick, p. 359; the Life of Leiceſter, 1727, p. 281:—There is a letter, which has been already quoted, in Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 377-8, dated on the 6th of September, 1588, at Sheffeld Lodge, in Yorkſhire, *two days after* the *death* of Leiceſter, from the Earls of Shrewſbury and Derby; offering their condolence, and ſervices: This early date, after his deceaſe, at ſo great a diſtance, proves how ſpeedily the great men of that reign had their information of important events.

(*c*) Inquiry, 84.

As

As theſe witneſſes ſay nothing, they prove nothing. His next witneſs will, doubtleſs, be more loquacious, and concluſive. Chytræus, a German, viſited London, in 1579; and, "if "any ſuch building then exiſted, in South-"wark, he, without doubt, would have al-"luded to it (*d*)." Chytræus, then, proves as little, as the former witneſſes (*e*). The public accuſer, indeed, admits, that there were plays exhibited in Southwark, as early as 1579; but he denies, "that there was any regular "theatre, on the Bankſide, expreſsly, built "for ſcenick exhibitions (*f*):" Neither the admitting, nor the denying, here, prove any thing. Now, the council-regiſters evince, that there were, before the year 1581, "Cer-"tain companies of players heretofore uſing "their common exerciſe of playing within "and about the city of London, who were

(*d*) Inquiry, 85.

(*e*) The council-regiſter of the 10th November 1578, proves, "that there were certain players, within the Bo-"rough of Southwark, and other places near adjoining, in "that part of Surrey," at, and before, that epoch, what-ever Chytræus may have not ſeen.

(*f*) Id: But the council-regiſter of date the 11th of May 1586 proves, that there was then a regular playhouſe, in St. Saviour's pariſh, which was emphatically called, "*The Theatre*," by the record.

"only

" only brought up, from their youth, in the " practice, and profeſſion, of muſic, and play- " ing (*g*)." The fact is, that as early as 1570, there were ſeveral regular playhouſes erected in, or about the city of London (*h*): When the playhouſes were ordered to be pulled down, within the city, in 1580, *the Theatre*, in Blackfriars, eſcaped the fury of the fanatics (*i*). The perſecution of the drama, at that epoch, within the city, probably drove the players, over the Thames, into *The liberty of the Clink*, in St. Saviour's pariſh. In October 1587, the inhabitants of Southwark complained to the privy council, that their lordſhips' order, for reſtraining plays, on *Sundays*, was not obſerved in Surrey, " particularly within *the Liberty of* " *the Clink*, and in the pariſh of St. Sa- " viour's (*k*)." Now, from theſe facts, it is inferible, that there was a regular theatre, within *The liberty of the Clink*, on *the Bankſide*,

(*g*) Regiſter, 3d December 1581.

(*h*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. 2d pt. 36; Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 154.

(*i*) Id: And ſee Northbrook's Treatiſe againſt Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Enterludes, 1579, which ſpeaks of the *Theatre*, and *Curtain*, and other ſuch like places: p. 28-29.

(*k*) Regiſter, 29th October 1587.

which

which is within that *Liberty*: And, Norden's map of London, which was engraved, in 1593, at whatever time the ſurvey may have been made, exhibits *the Playhouſe*, on the *Bankſide* (*l*). But, our inquirer inſiſts, though without authority, "that this was not the "*Globe*, but the *Roſe* theatre, which was ſo "denominated from Roſe-alley, near which "it ſtood, as the Globe probably derived its "name from Globe-alley (*m*)." And he fixes upon the year 1594, as the probable epoch of the building of *the Globe* theatre. He produces a bond, and a contract, to eſtabliſh his point: But, though they prove ſomething, they do not prove enough; the bond, ſpeak-

(*l*) Mr. Malone ſays, generally, in *Southwark*: [Inquiry, 86.]—But, the ſite of the Globe theatre was, and is, called, by the people of the pariſh, *The Bankſide*. See Strype's edition of Stow's London, vol. ii. p. 8.

(*m*) Inquiry, 86: But, Norden's map, 1593, and Strype, vol. ii. 7, prove clearly, that Roſe-alley, and Globe-alley, did not then exiſt; and ſo, theſe alleys originated from the theatres, and not the theatres from them: On the bank of the river, there was, at that epoch, "a row of tenements;" but behind them, there were gardens, and a park; as Norden's map, and Strype, and the *Pariſh books* of St. Saviour's, demonſtrate.—On the 12th of June 1575, "the Pariſhion-"ers agreed to deliver to the Queen's barns at Greenwich "two loads of firſt cut hay, thirty-ſix truſſes to the load, "and ſixty pounds to each truſs." [The Pariſh books of that date].

ing, generally, of the performance of certain articles of agreement; and the contract, referring, in 1599, to the *late erected Globe* on *The Banke* (*n*). The fact is, as I have shown, in

(*n*) Mr. Malone says expressly, "that the Globe theatre "was not situated *by Thames*, but in Maiden-lane, a street "in Southwark at *some distance from the river*, as is proved "by an authentic document in my possession." [Inquiry, p. 84.] The contract, dated the 8th of January 1599-1600, as expressly refers "to the late erected playhouse, on the "BANKE, in the said parish of St. Saviours, called THE "GLOBE." [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part 2d. p. 326, Inquiry, p. 87.] Now, these contradictions, between our inquirer, and his own documents, demonstrate, that his positions must be wrong; and of course, that his point is unsupported by credible proof.—On the contrary; I maintain, that the Globe was situated on *the Bank*, within eighty paces of the river, which has since receded from its former limits; that the Globe stood on the site of John Whatley's windmill, which is at present used for grinding colours; as I was assured by an intelligent manager of Barclay's brewhouse, which covers, in its ample range, part of Globe alley; and that Whatley's windmill stands due south, from the western side of Queenhythe, by the compass, which I set for the express purpose of ascertaining the relative bearing of the windmill to the opposite objects on the Thames: Now, the PLAY-HOUSE, on Norden's map, stands due south of the western side of Queenhythe, or Broken-wharff; so that, as far as the compass can guide us, we have demonstration, that the site of Norden's playhouse, and of Whatley's windmill is the same: But, Mr. Malone assures us explicitly, "that "*the Rose theatre* stood *more to the west*," than Norden's playhouse;

in the note below, that the public accuſer, and his own proofs, contradict each other, while both ſtand oppoſed to demonſtration. Now, if there be certainty in facts; if there be any demonſtration in proofs; it will follow, that he has failed, in eſtabliſhing his point; and, of conſequence, he is unwarranted, in his concluſion:—"Thus we ſee the Globe "theatre did not exiſt at the time to which "this letter muſt be referred (*o*)." On the contrary, Norden's map is evidence, that the Globe was built *before* the year 1593; and the council-regiſter is proof, that it may, probably, have exiſted, as early as 1586.

The public accuſer now goes on, in the ſame ſtrain of contradiction, and aſſumption, to compare the anachroniſm, which he has thus failed to eſtabliſh, with events, and dates, which cannot be diſputed. Leiceſter, who was to attend Elizabeth to the play at Hampton-court, was in Holland, during the greateſt

playhouſe; ſo that, according to his own *ſhewing*, the Roſe theatre, and Norden's playhouſe, cannot be the ſame: And, the council-regiſter of the 11th May 1586 proves, that there was a playhouſe, within St. Saviour's pariſh, which was then, emphatically called *The Theatre*. Howe's Chronicle, p. 1003, aſſerts, that the theatre, or playhouſe, called *the Globe*, was upon the *Bankſide*, *neer* London.

(*o*) Inquiry, 88.

part of the year 1586: He returned to London, on the 23d of November; and went, late at night, to the court, at Richmond: He departed for Holland, on the 25th of June 1587: But, he was recalled on the 9th of November 1587; and he arrived in England, in December, 1587 (*p*). From 1587, he remained at home, till his death, on the 4th of September 1588 (*q*). And, the public accuſer profeſſes, "to ſhow *beyond a doubt*, that "the Queen was not at Hampton-court "during the holydays in either of the pe-"riods above mentioned (*r*)."

(*p*) Howe's Chron. p. 743. But, hiſtory has not yet fixed the date of that event. Churchyard has, however, in his *Hiſtorical Diſcourſe on the Civil Wars in the Netherlands*, 1602, p. 102, given an accurate narrative of Leiceſter's return, in the following manner: "The 14th of November, re-"turning into Zeland, [from Holland] to viſit the cities "there; and ſo, at Vere, in Zeland, reconciling unto him "certaine captaines of the garriſon, in *ſecret manner*, he "departed thence, the 21ſt of November; and at length, "taking ſhip at Fluſhing the 17 of December anno 1587, "he returned the ſecond and laſt time into England."

(*q*) Inquiry, 89: And ſee Stow, Howe's edition, p. 740—44:—Brook ſays he died, in 1586. [Catal. of the Succeſſion of Kings, and Nobles, 1619, p. 136.] This is the herald, who was to correct the errors of Camden!

(*r*) Inquiry, 90.

He

He opens his proof with his usual *petitio principii*. After putting it upon others to shew, that the Queen was at Hampton-court, during some part of those periods, he produces his first proof. "The regular time," says he, "for the exhibition of plays at court "was Christmas, Twelftide, Candlemas, and "Shrovetide." He might have more correctly added, *Childermasday*, *Sundays*, and other days (*s*). Here, then, he fails. He speaks (*t*) next of the inconvenience of the apartments at the Queen's palaces; in order to shew the improbability of plays being acted, at Hampton-court: But, the council-registers prove, that there were plays acted there, at Christmas 1575, and at Christmas 1591 (*u*): Now, here, again he fails, in his second proof. He will be more successful, perhaps, in his third proof: "From the beginning of December "1587, to the 8th day of July 1588, she "resided at Greenwich." His position is, as

(*s*) Council-register, 21st February 157$\frac{4}{5}$, 14th February 1579: and the register, 1575—1579—1581-2—1588—1590-91.

(*t*) Inquiry, 90-1.

(*u*) Registers, 20th January 1576; and 7th March 1592; which contain warrants, for paying the players, who acted at Hampton-court, on those days.

the context evinces, that she resided, continually, during that period, at Greenwich. He ought to have added, what was very material, indeed, for him to conceal, that the court was at HACNEY, on the 16th of April (*v*) 1588, where Leicester was present. Now, this is a most important absence from Greenwich. It was at this period, if ever, that the Queen, and Leicester, went to the play, at Hampton-court, which is only a short journey from Hacney. And he thus fails in his third proof: and, failing in all his proofs, he has failed in showing, *beyond a doubt*, that her majesty was not at Hampton-court, in any of those periods, when Leicester could have pleased her, by his presence, and Shakspeare amused her, by his acting.

After all those failures, the public accuser comes, by a regular approach, to his *last*, and *fatal* objection to Elizabeth's epistle. He opens the trenches, in his accustomed manner, by begging admission, instead of forcing the place. He is astonished to see the modest, and careless Shakspeare "seduously docketing

(*v*) Council-register of that date; and she did not return to Greenwich till the 21st of April: she was also absent, from Greenwich, in February 1588, as appears by the register of the 6th of February.

"his

" his papers with the punctilious exactneſs of " a merchant or attorney (*w*)." It is ſtill more remarkable, he (*x*) ſays, that the poet ſhould take ſuch care of this gracious epiſtle; yet, ſhould not have preſerved the *prettye verſes*, which gave occaſion to it (*y*). Our ſceptical critic is ſcandalized, that the Lord Chamberlain ſhould have preſented the *prettye verſes*, inſtead of the maſter of the revels, or the treaſurer of the chamber, who were, " *unqueſtionably*," the proper perſons to convey to players royal mandates, and royal bounties; as if the Lord Chamberlain, and ladies of the court, had not been in the conſtant practice of preſenting books to the Queen, and communicating royal acknowledgments (*z*). If Churchyard preſented

(*w*) Inquiry, 97. (*x*) Id.

(*y*) Theſe verſes, we have ſeen, the poet *did* preſerve; and the commentator criticized them, without *recognizing the ætherial gueſt*.

(*z*) In 1594, the *Geſta Grayorum* were preſented before the Queeen, who, being pleaſed with the entertainment, " willed the *Lord Chamberlain*, that the gentlemen ſhould " be invited, on the next day, and preſented to her: Her " majeſty gave them her hand to kiſs, with moſt gracious " words of commendation to them particularly, and in ge- " neral to Gray's Inn, as an houſe ſhe was much beholden " to; for that it did always ſtudy for ſome ſports to preſent

ſented his *Conceit* to Elizabeth, in 1592, at Hampton-court; why might not Shakſpeare preſent his *prettye verſes* to her, by the Lord Chamberlain's hands: And, if Elizabeth thanked Lambarde, perſonally, for his printed book; why might ſhe not thank Shakſpeare, by an epiſtle, for his unprinted ſonnets? We may perceive, from her interview with Lambarde, that Elizabeth perfectly underſtood Shakſpeare's *axiom:* "The pooreſt ſervice is "repaid with *thanks*."

The public accuſer comes at length to his *laſt topic*. His fatal objection is not "to the "diſſimilitude, but the total and intire diſſi-"militude of every part of the writing of this "letter (except the ſignature) from Eliza-"beth's genuine hand-writing (*a*)." His laſt topic, he proves, exactly, in his former mode.

"unto her." [Nic. Prog. *Geſta Grayorum*, p. 49.] On the 4th of Auguſt 1601, William Lambarde preſented to Queen Elizabeth, in her privy chamber, at Greenwich, his *Pandecta Rotulorum*, whereof ſhe had given him the charge, on the 21ſt of January preceding; "Her majeſtie chearfullie "received the ſame into her hands, ſaying:—you intended "to preſent this book unto me by the *Counteſs of Warwick*; "but I will none of that; for if any ſubject of mine do me "a ſervice, *I will thankfullie accept it from his own hands*." [Id. ſign. G. 41.]

(*a*) Inquiry, 103.

"From

" From the examination of various *fac ſimi-*
" *les*," he (*b*) ſays, " it appears that her
" hand-writing gradually enlarged as ſhe ad-
" vanced in life; and that in the year 1587,
" or 1588, it was at leaſt a fourth, perhaps a
" third, larger than her writing when ſhe
" came to the throne." Is it, then, wonder-
ful, that he ſhould have found in this epiſtle,
which was, no doubt, haſtily written, as ſhe
paſſed through London, " no leſs [fewer]
" than ſix groſs errors," he ſhould have ſaid,
ſix *diſſimilarities:* The wonder had been, had
any ſimilarity been found. Who could paral-
lel Elizabeth, who was ſo unparallel to herſelf,
at different periods of her various life? I have
compared the *fac ſimiles* of Elizabeth's ſigna-
ture, which he has taken the trouble to (*c*)
engrave, with a *fac-ſimile* in Lodge's (*d*) Illuſ-
trations, and with a *fac-ſimile* of the Queen's
ſignature in Forbes's (*e*) ſtate-papers: But,
they are ſo diſſimilar in the general reſem-
blance, ſo unlike in the letters, and ſo different
in the flouriſhes, that I could ſhew SIX *groſs*
errors, in the beſt of them; if there could be

(*b*) Inquiry, 104. (*c*) Inquiry, plate 1.

(*d*) Vol. i. plate 10. (*e*) Vol. p. 59.

derived

derived from the labour, any inſtruction, and amuſement, which would repay the trouble of detection. The public accuſer aſſerts, as his concluding proof, what, indeed, is equally unwarranted by *the fact*, as his former aſſumptions, that "her genuine autographs are "*bolt-upright* (*f*):" Of *bolt-uprightneſs*, however, who can judge, without a *plummet?* But, of contradicting contradictions, there is no end!

I here cloſe my *apology* for the believers, which I ſubmit to this critical court, on this head of the Inquiry. It will be eaſily recollected, that the *public accuſer* undertook, by ſpecial inveſtigations, to confute the *general argument* of the *firſt ſection*, which concluded ſo ſtrongly, in their favour. His ſeveral objections, I have fully examined. But, I have found, in his aſſertions, ſo little reality; in his argument, ſo little conſiſtence; in his pretences, ſo little candour; in his jokes, ſo little

(*f*) Inquiry, 105. In order to verify the aſſertion, with regard to the *bolt-uprightneſs* of Elizabeth's *autographs*, I compared a great number of her ſignatures, which are preſerved in the College of Arms: And, it appeared diſtinctly to me, that the main ſtroke of the E was uniformly deſigned to be upright; but that, generally, the ſmall letters incline to the left, particularly, from the *b* in Eliz*abeth*. So that the aſſerted uprightneſs of the Queen's autograph is not wholly conſiſtent with the real truth.

riſibility;

(*g*) riſibility; that I flatter myſelf, he will be allowed *to take nothing by his motion*, although he may be admitted to be *right* by *chance*, rather than *convincing* by *argument*.

(*g*) In the Inquiry, p. 102, Mr. Malone has indeed made *one good joke*, at the expence of the believers: He feigns a committee of the Croſs-row, B. C. D. E. O. P. Q. R. who are ſuppoſed to be ſitting on "*the Miſcellaneous Papers*;" and when the *anachroniſm* of an alluſion to balloons, and to the earthquake at Liſbon, was objected, over-ruled the objection; having "unanimouſly voted it of no weight what-"ever." At *the joke*, I am prepared to laugh:—But, I am not prepared, if it were allowable to introduce *fiction* into the detection of *forgery*, to admit the truth of the *anachroniſm*. There were balloons in the age of Elizabeth, and Shakſpeare. For the *word*; ſee Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, in Vo. *ballóne*, a great ball; a *ballone*. For the *thing*; ſee *A Thouſand Notable things of ſundrie Sorts*, printed by Roberts, in 1601; book 10, No. 37, "how to make a "bladder leap from place to place;" and No. 49, "how "to make *an egg aſcend into the air*:" Both theſe tricks were performed, like ſimilar tricks of modern times, by the *rarefaction of air*. For an account of the earthquake at London, and other places, including Liſbon, no doubt, ſee Spenſer's *Three proper Letters*, printed hy Bynneman, in 1580, p. 23; wherein may be read "a grave meteorologi-"call conference, touching earthquakes."—We may hence obſerve, how eaſy it is to ſupply *ignorance* with *anachroniſm*, to fill *vacuity* with *wonder*, and to tickle folly with a joke.

§ III. LORD

— § III. —

LORD SOUTHAMPTON; AND HIS CORRESPONDENCE.

In opening the Apology, on this head of the ſubject, the believers are again led, by the fact, to obſerve, that the objections, which had been ſtrongly ſtated, during the firſt period of diſquiſition, are either relinquiſhed wholly, or ſupported feebly, ſince the publication of the *Miſcellaneous Papers*.

To the ſignature of Lord Southampton, by his *title*, it was objected by thoſe, who pretended to know parliamentary uſages, that the practice of the peers, in ſigning by their titles, without their baptiſmal names, did not commence, for a century, after the epoch of his correſpondence with Shakſpeare. The ſceptics applauded this objection to Lord Southampton's ſignature, as a deciſive proof of the fiction. On the contrary, the believers heard it, without aſſenting to the truth of the premiſes, or the fairneſs of the deduction; becauſe, recollecting precedents, they knew, that the objection was neither ſupported by fact, nor juſtified by cuſtom.

Without

Without referring to feudal times, when men were known by the names of their lands, and barons diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their titles, the practice may be eaſily traced by precedents, and the cuſtom clearly illuſtrated by examples, at ſucceſſive periods of our hiſtory. A few inſtances from the remarkable ſpecimens of ſignatures in Fenn's Letters, written during the times of our Edwards and Henrys, will throw abundant light on this curious ſubject; and alſo prove, that the modern practice had a more early origin, than the objectors ſuppoſed. John de Vere, writing to John Paſton, in the 38th of Henry 6th, concluded: "Uretyn at Wouenho, the xvii day; "The Earl of Oxenford;—Oxenford (*a*)." We here ſee, that the baptiſmal name of this great peer was not prefixed to his ſignature. John Lord Scales, a nobleman of uncommon worth, concluded his letter to John Paſton thus:—"Writen at Midelton the xvi day of "Octob'r;—youre frende,—Scales (*b*)." One of

(*a*) Fenn's Let. vol. iii. p. 362.

(*b*) Ib. 367. And ſee autographs of Lord Oxenford, and Lord Scales, in vol. ii. plate i. And ſee Lord *Haſtyng's* ſignature, in the ſame manner, in plate iv. and ſo, of others, in the other plates:—The fact, then, is incontrovertible, as to the

of the executors of Sir John Faſtolf, writing to the *ryght worcheppful Sere Mayſter John Stokes*, a doctor of the civil laws, and an officer of the biſhop's court, concluded: "Wretyn "in ye abbey of langeley the viii day of y^e^ "monyth of may, the yeere of our lord "m, cccc, lx: youre preeſt; — abbot of "langeley (*c*)." And, even private gentlemen, in thoſe days, ſigned their ſurnames, without their baptiſmal appellations; as in a letter to Sir Robert Rokyſby "be his ſervant "and Bedman, *Perſe* (*d*)." A ſimilar practice continued, through the ſubſequent (*e*) reigns, though the cuſtom was not altogether uniform (*f*). The knowledge of the believers was warranted, then, in rejecting the ignorance of the ſceptics, upon a point of archaeology,

the ſignature of peers, in thoſe times, without their baptiſmal appellations, or the initial letters of their names, and titles.

(*c*) Ib. 400: and p. 422 for other ſignatures, in the manner of *anagrams*.

(*d*) Ib. 434; and ſee the autographs, in the ſame volume, plate xvii—xviii—xix—xx: And, ſee a letter, in September 1603, ſigned *Fowler*, in Lodge's Il. vol. iii. p. 169.

(*e*) See Howard's Collections, 160-61.

(*f*) See the autographs in Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. i. plate 5, &c.—And ſee the autographs in Forbes's ſtate-papers, in the time of Elizabeth.

which

which was so clearly established, and generally known: Yet, says the public accuser, "in "the reign of Elizabeth, as your lordship "knows, noblemen in their signatures usually "prefixed their *Christian name* to their (*g*) "titles;" though his own documents demonstrate a contrary usage.

During the long, and improving, reign of Elizabeth, the practice of the peers, in their signatures, went on progressively, from ancient irregularity, towards modern uniformity. Let us take, as examples, the celebrated favourites of that maiden queen: The earl of Leycester was very various, in his signature: as we may see, often, R. (*h*) Lecester; Ro. (*i*) Lecester; Ro. (*k*) Leycester; R. Leycester (*l*). These varieties sufficiently prove, that there is no drawing a true conclusion from a single autograph, in that age. This observation is more strongly exemplified from the still more various practice of Elizabeth's other favourite: He signed, at times, Essex; R. Essex; Ro.

(*g*) Inquiry, 184. (*h*) Peck's Defid. 112-13-14.

(*i*) Ib. 100-4-5-6. (*k*) Ib. 128-132.

(*l*) Lodge's Il. vol. ii. p. 286; and Mal. Inquiry, plate ii. which is a different autograph, in some points, from the preceding, in Lodge.

Essex;

Eſſex; Rob. Eſſex; and Robert Eſſex (*m*). Now, the egregious ſophiſtry, of arguing from a ſingle autograph, is apparent from thoſe varieties. If any ſyſtem could be deduced from ſuch variety, I ſhould conclude, that when he was moſt gay, he ſigned *Eſſex*, and when he was moſt grave, he ſubſcribed *Robert* Eſſex (*n*).

The public accuſer, however, comforts himſelf, with (*o*) remarking, that "whatever exam-" ples of the modern practice may occaſionally " be found in ancient times, Henry, Lord South-" ampton prefixed his *Chriſtian* name to his ti-" tle; a practice, which ſeems to have been " hereditary in his family; for the autograph " of his father—(H. Southampton) is in the " Muſeum." Strange! That ſo accurate a logician ſhould continually argue againſt the

(*m*) See Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 444-5—458—486: Howard's Collections, 232—521. See the Cabala, p. 213-15, for ſeven letters to Secretary Daviſon, ſigned R. Eſſex; p. 216, two to the Queen, ſigned, Ro. Eſſex; and p. 218, one letter to the Lord Keeper Elleſmere, ſigned, Eſſex: and, Birch's Mem. prove, that he ſigned his Latin letters, *Eſſexius*.

(*n*) While he lay, a condemned man, in the Tower, he ſubſcribed *Robert* Eſſex. [Howard's Col. 524: Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 486.]

(*o*) Inquiry, 184.

conviction

conviction, which his own documents enforce. His autographs do not prove, that either the father, or the ſon, *prefixed their chriſtian names to their titles*; ſince they only prove, that they prefixed the *initial* H:—Now, H might repreſent Humphry, Hugh, Hubert, Horatio, Herbert, Hamon, Hadrian, Hodge, Hector, Hob, Harry, Hobbinol, Henry, or Hildebrand. Here, then, he fails. But, he is certain of his poſition, that the father, and the ſon, *uniformly* ſubſcribed *H.* Southampton. Had he looked into Howard's Collections, he would have ſeen the ſubſcription of the father, in the modern form, to be *Southampton*, without either his chriſtian name, or the initial of it (*p*). When he was ranſacking, unſucceſsfully, every place for autographs of Shakſpeare's patron, had he thrown his eyes on a *white-letter* publication of the Virginia Company, whereof his lordſhip was treaſurer, he would have beheld the formal ſubſcription of HENRY *Southampton* (*q*). Here, again,

(*p*) See, in p. 226, a letter, dated the 27th of June 1573; now, the autograph, in the Inquiry, is affixed to an epiſtle, dated July 26, 1572. [Inquiry, 185.]

(*q*) See "His majeſties gracious letter to the Earle of "Southampton, treaſurer, and to the Council and Company

again, he fails. The believers knew, from thoſe remarkable examples, that there was no uniformity, in ſignatures, during thoſe times. His beſt apology is, while the believers require none, that he was miſled by the intemperance of his zeal to reaſon from a fancied uniformity, which being only a Will-o'-th'-wiſp, led him headlong into "the great bog of "Allen." Here, with Lord Charlemont by his ſide, he plunges a while. At length, they flounder through, "by producing two letters "written by Lord Southampton, *the only let-* "*ters of his known to be extant* (*r*)." But, I have produced another letter of Lord Southampton, written on a public occaſion, publiſhed by authority, and made notorious from its

"of Virginia heere:" Commanding the preſent ſetting up of ſilk works, and planting of vines in Virginia, &c. publiſhed by authority: and printed by Kyngſton, 1622. Lord Southampton's name is ſubſcribed, in the before mentioned form, of HENRY Southampton, to the letter, which the company in England ſent, on that occaſion, "To the Governour and "Councell of State in Virginia." This pamphlet will now go down the ſtream of time, borne along it by the names of Southampton, and Shakſpeare; and will be remembered, in the annals of that country, "where tobacco loves to grow."

(*r*) Inquiry, p. 185.

object.

object (*s*). Once more, then, our inquirer fails, egregiouſly: And, the believers may, at length, retort:—

"Thyſelf, from flattering ſelf-conceit defend,
"Nor, what thou doſt not know, to know pretend!"

But, it is ſelf conceit, flattering ſelf-conceit, which is the bane of all reſearch, and the obſtruction to all knowledge. Never was this remark more fully proved, than in the biography of Lord Southampton, which Mr. Malone has ſeveral times touched upon; yet has left it, either without fulneſs, in its facts, or preciſion, in its notices. It may, therefore, be of uſe, to run over the life of Shakſpeare's patron; in order to elucidate this ſubject; to point out the miſtakes of error; and to eſtabliſh the certainties, which are often miſconceived by fondneſs, and very often miſtated by flattery.

The family of Wryothſley, who were commonly called *Wrythe*, may be found among *the heralds*, in the ſeveral reigns, from Edward 4 to Henry (*t*) 8. The grandfather of Shak-

(*s*) See yet another letter of Lord Southampton to Winwood, dated the 6th Auguſt 1613, in Win. Mem. vol. iii. p. 475.

(*t*) See the Archæologia, vol. iii. p. 209.

ſpeare's Southampton roſe, from being faucon-herald, to be lord chancellor, and an earl, under the capricious Henry viii. Lord Southampton's father was Henry, Earl of Southampton; his mother was Mary, the daughter of Anthony, the firſt Viſcount of Montague: And, he was born, on the 6th of October 1573 (*u*). He had the misfortune to loſe his father, on the 4th of October (*v*) 1581; an event, which enabled his mother to marry, ere long, Sir Thomas Heneage; who, as treaſurer of the chamber, had much connection with players, and writers of plays. Whereſoever Lord Southampton may have received his earlieſt learning, he compleated his education at Cambridge, and finiſhed his ſtudies at Grey's Inn (*w*).

From

(*u*) Burghley had recorded, in his Diary, that Henry Earl of Southampton, was born in 1573; [Murden, 792,] but Mr. Malone has aſcertained, from the eſcheat rolls of the 24 of Eliz. the day of his birth. [Inquiry, 180.]

(*v*) Mr. Malone ſays he died in 1583: [Shak. vol. x. p. 4.] But, Brook, and the heralds, are as poſitive to the day, and month, and year. [Cat. of Succeſſion, p. 224.]

(*w*) Dec. 11, 1585. Hen. Comes Southampton impubes 12 annorum admiſſus in matriculam Acad. Cant. [Regr. Acad. Cantab.] *Henricus Wriothſley Comes Southampton coptatus in ordinem Magiſtrorum in artibus per gratiam Jun.*

From the trammels of diſcipline, he entered the world, on the 6th of October, 1594. When he was ſcarcely of age, he had the honour to receive Shakſpeare's dedication of *Venus* and *Adonis*, "the firſt heir of his invention:" As another token of his *love*, Shakſpeare ſoon dedicated to his firſt patron "*The Rape of* "*Lucrece*;" though "but a ſuperfluous moiety "of his duty." It is eaſy to conjecture, how this reciprocation of kindneſs commenced, between the peer, who was eleven years younger than Shakſpeare, and the poet, who was ſtruggling with the difficulties of life. We have already ſeen the origin of this connection, in the marriage of Sir Thomas Heneage, the treaſurer of the chamber, with Lady Southampton; in the conſequent intercourſe of the family, with the play-houſe; and we may

Jun. 6, 1589. [Regr. Acad. Cantab.]—This note, Mr. Craven Ord very obligingly copied for me from the late Mr. Cole's copy of Wood's Athenæ, which is in his library. Lord Southampton was of St. John's College. [Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.] And, in June 1590, he entered himſelf of Lincoln's Inn, it is ſaid, on the authority of Leland, in his *Encomia:* But, the regiſter of that inn, which has been ſearched, ſhows, that this aſſertion is a miſtake, as to the inn; and a penſion-roll of Grey's Inn has lately been found, in Lady Grey's library, at Wreſt, in Bedfordſhire; in which penſion-roll [1611] Lord Southampton is mentioned as a member of Grey's-Inn.

eaſily ſuppoſe, that the youthfulneſs of Lord Southampton led him into all the gayeties of the world; as his paſſion for fame made him the protector of letters. From this epoch, Lord Southampton may be ſaid to have been fed with dedications, the flatulent food of *wandering vanity*.

But, Lord Southampton was ere long ſmitten with love of a very different kind from Shakſpeare's; being captivated by the charms of the *faire Miſtreſs* Varnon (*x*). The oppoſition of Elizabeth made this a tedious courtſhip; which ended, at length, in a comfortleſs marriage.—"He accompanied Lord Eſſex "as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz, "in 1596," ſays Mr. Malone (*y*): But, Camden, and Hakluyt keep Lord Southamp-

(*x*) Rowland White, whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to quote, wrote to Sir Henry Sydney, his patron, on the 23d of September 1595; "My Lord Southampton "doth with to [too] much familiarity court the faire Mrs. "Varnon, while his friends, obſerving the Queen's hu- "mours towards my Lord of Eſſex, do what they can to "bring her to favour him; but it is yet in vain." [Sydney, Pap. vol. i. 348.] Mr. Malone has wiſely remarked, that we ought not to be miſled by the *olden* word *miſtreſs* to ſuppoſe, that this charming fair one was either a diſconſolate widow, or an old maid.

(*y*) Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.

ton

ton in (*z*) England; where he, doubtleſs, remained, "fetter'd in amorous chains:" And, Mr. Malone appoints Lord Southampton, in the following year, "captain of the "Garland, one of Queen Elizabeth's beſt "ſhips," and makes him "vice admiral of "the firſt ſquadron, in the fleet that ſailed "againſt the Azores," in 1597 (*a*). But, Camden ſays expreſsly, that the Earls of Rutland, Southampton, and other lords, and knights, "liſted themſelves as *volunteers* in "this expedition (*b*)." Whatever command he

(*z*) Kennet's Col. vol. ii. p. 593; and Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, vol. i. p. 607-17, which both ſpecify the principal perſons in the expedition; and ſhow, that the fleet remained at Cadiz, on the 5th of July 1596: Now, Lord Southampton executed at London a power of attorney, on the 1ſt of July, 1596, to Richard Rounching, to receive of George, Earl of Cumberland, and John Taylor, his ſervant, a thouſand pounds. This curious document, which proves, that Lord Southampton, could not be at Cadiz on the 1ſt of July, 1596; and which alſo ſhows, how Lord Southampton could write at the age of three and twenty, Mr. Craven Ord communicated to me, in the moſt liberal manner. See Birch's Mem. of Q. Eliz. vol. ii. p. 45-50, for additional proofs, that Lord Southampton was not on the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596.

(*a*) Mal. Shak. vol. x. p. 4.

(*b*) Kennet, vol. ii. 597: Rowland White wrote Sir

he may have got, Lord Southampton behaved moſt gallantly: He was wounded in the engagement (*c*) with the Spaniards: He was knighted by Eſſex, upon the voyage: Yet, when he returned, with his friend, to court, in October 1597, Lord Southampton was frowned on by the Queen, "who thought "that Eſſex *might have done more*, and be-"haved better to Raleigh (*d*)."

Lord Southampton returned to the amuſements, and buſineſs of London, with a new reliſh. On ſome quarrel, he challenged the Earl of Northumberland; but, they were reſtrained from fighting, by the Queen's (*e*) order. He began his parliamentary career, on

Henry Sydney, on the 9th of April 1597—"Lord Southamp-"ton, by *two hundred means*, hath *gotten leave to go* with "them [Lord Thomas Howard, and Raleigh] and is ap-"pointed to go in the Garland," as *a volunteer*, ſays the context. [Sydney, Pap. vol. ii. p. 37.] And Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 344, is poſitive on the point.

(*c*) Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 274: The Earl of Northumberland, who had been challenged by Lord Southampton, wrote to Bacon, that his lordſhip's "arm was hurt with the "*ballon*."

(*d*) Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 72: "Lord Southampton fought "with one of the king's great men of war, and ſunk her," ſays Rowland White; but this is a very different ſtory from Mr. Malone's.

(*e*) Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 274.

the

the 24th of October 1597 (*f*). He recommenced his courtſhip, with the *fallings-out*, and *renewals* of love. He propoſed, in January 159$\frac{7}{8}$, to travel with Mr. Secretary Cecil; "to the extreme grief of his miſtreſſe, that "paſſes her time in weeping (*g*)." He, at the ſame time, gave mortal offence to Elizabeth, who was already indignant enough, that he ſhould preſume to love, without her knowledge, and to think of marriage, without her conſent. Southampton, Raleigh, and other men of faſhion, being at play one evening in the preſence chamber, were warned by Willoughbie, the proper officer, to depart; as the Queen was retired to reſt. Raleigh, who knew the penalty of diſobedience, put his money into his purſe, and departed: But, Southampton, being young, and heedleſs, remained, and ſtruck Willoughbie, who returned the blow. Elizabeth hearing, on the morrow, of this brawl, thanked Willoughbie, and ſaid, "he

(*f*) "*Introductum fuit breve Comitis South'ton*, 24 Oct. 1597. [Lords Journ. vol. ii. p. 192.] Lord Southampton was preſent, on the 7th Nov. the 26th Nov. the 13th and 14th Dec. and the parliament roſe on the 8th of Feb'ry 159$\frac{7}{8}$. [Ib. 224.]

(*g*) Rowland White's letter, dated 14 Jan'ry 159$\frac{7}{8}$, in Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 81.

"had

" had better have ſent Southampton to the " porter's lodge; to ſee who durſt have " fetched him out (*h*)." Yet, Lord Southampton thought her majeſty's uſage of him very ſtrange (*i*). He reſolved, however, to attend Secretary Cecil, on his embaſſy to Paris: But, mean time, Cobham, Raleigh, and Southampton, " ſeverally feaſted Mr. Secretary, be- " fore his departure; and had *plaies*, and ban- " quets (*k*)." On the 10th of February 159⅞, Lord Southampton departed from (*l*) London; " leaving behind him a moſt deſolate gentle- " woman, that almoſt wept out her faireſt " eyes (*m*)."

Few

(*h*) Rowland White tells the ſtory, admirably, in his letter of the 19th Jan'ry 159⅞: Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 83.

(*i*) Ib. 87.

(*k*) Rowland White, 30 Jan'ry, 159⅞. Ib. 87.

(*l*) Birch's Negotiations, p. 87.

(*m*) Rowland White, 11 February 159⅞. Ib. 90. He had ſecretly heard, "that Lord Southampton was to have " been married to his faire miſtreſſe, before his departure." [Ib. 88.] This accounts for the weeping of the deſolate gentlewoman. Yet, Mr. Malone marries them, in 1596: And, he ſends him, in 1598, as general of the horſe, to Ireland, with Eſſex; while he was travelling with Mr. Secretary Cecil, in France. [Shak. vol. x. 5.] In the poetical dedication

Few young noblemen have travelled with a more prudent guide, than did Lord Southampton, with Mr. Secretary Cecil. They arrived at Paris on the 1ſt of March 159$\frac{7}{8}$. But, it was at Angers, on the 17th of March, that they had the gratification of ſeeing the celebrated Henry IV.; when Secretary Cecil preſented Lord Southampton to that illuſtrious monarch, ſaying; that his lordſhip "was come "with deliberation to do him ſervice:" Henry IV. embraced, and welcomed Lord (*n*) Southampton; who was diſappointed, by the peace of Vervins, in the hopes of ſerving the campaign of 1598, under that great commander. He, probably, returned to London, in November (*o*) 1598; and was, undoubedly, ſoon after

dedication of Florio's *World of Words*, to Lord Southampton, in 1598, there are the following lines:

"*Now liv'ſt in travell, foreine rites inquiring,*
"Honor's ingender'd ſparkles thereto firing,
"Immutable in travel's mutabilitie."

(*n*) See the diſpatch in Birch's Negotiations, 109.

(*o*) Rowland White wrote, 2d November 1598, that Lord Southampton is about to return to England. Syd. Pap. vol. ii. 104. In the year 1598, Florio dedicated his *World of Words*, to the Earl of Rutland, to the Earl of Southampton, and to Lucie, the Counteſs of Bedford. To the Earl of Southampton he ſaid:—"In truth, I acknowledge an en-

"tire

ter married to Elizabeth Vernon, the daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in the county of Salop; to the great offence of Elizabeth, who sent them both to (*p*) prison; as the inexorable lord chancellor now sends his wards to durance *vile*, when they have been led, surreptitiously, to the altar of Hymen.

After mature deliberation, the Earl of Essex was appointed, in the beginning of 1599, Lord Deputy of Ireland, with unprecedented powers. On the 27th of March 1599, he departed for Ireland: And on that occasion—

" ——— London pour'd out her citizens:

" tire debt, not only of my best knowledge, but of all; yea, " of more than I know, or can to your bounteous lordship, " *in whose pay and patronage I have lived some years*; to " whom I owe and vowe the years I have to live. But, as " to me, and many more, the glorious and gracious sunshine " of your honour hath infused light and life." It ought to be remembered that, when the second edition of this *World of Words*, was published, in 1611, the first dedication was ungratefully suppressed, and a fresh dedication was made, " To " the imperiall majestie of the highest borne princes, *Anna* " of Denmark, crowned queen of England, Scotland, France, " and Ireland; &c."

(*p*) Brook's Catalogue, 224: In writing to the Lords of the Council, Essex expressed himself thus: " Was it " treason in my Lord of Southampton to marry my poor " kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor any " punishment besides, that hath been usual, in like cases, can " satisfy, or appease?" [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 422.]

" The

" The mayor, and all his brethren, in beſt ſort,
" Like to the ſenators of antique Rome,
" With the plebeians, ſwarming at their heels,
" Went forth."

" In 1598" [1599] ſays Mr. Malone, " Lord " Southampton attended his noble friend to " Ireland, as general of the horſe (*q*)." Being, at laſt, ſafely arrived, in Ireland, ſays Camden; " and having received the ſword, according to " form, Eſſex immediately made the Earl of " Southampton general of the horſe, clean con- " trary to his inſtructions (*r*)." It was here, that an enmity began between Lord Southampton, and Lord Grey, which created, afterwards, much vexation to both (*s*). Lord Southampton, being ſoon diſmiſſed from his command, by the Queen's orders, returned to London, on the 20th of September 1599; and Lord Eſſex unexpectedly arrived on the 28th of the ſame

(*q*) Shak. vol. x. 5.

(*r*) An. in Kennet, vol. ii. 614: Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 396.

(*s*) Mr. Secretary Cecil wrote to the ambaſſador Neville at Paris on the 9th of June 1599: " Yf you chance to heare " any flying tale, that my Lord Grey ſhould be *committed* in " Ireland, the accident was only this: That he being only a " colonel of horſe, and my Lord of Southampton general, he " did charge, without direction; and ſo, for order ſake, was " only committed to the marſhal, for one night." [Winwood's Mem. vol. i. 47.]

month;

month; but, without "bringing rebellion "broached on his ſword (*t*)." Lord Southampton came not any more to court, but paſſed his time in London, merely in going to plaies, every day. Lady Southampton, and Lady Rich, who had been at Eſſex-houſe, retired into the country (*u*).

In December 1599, Lord Mountjoy, a perſon of leſs preſumption, and more talents, than Eſſex, was nominated Lord Deputy of Ireland. Lord Southampton was, ſoon after, appointed to accompany him; having the command of only two hundred foot, and one hundred horſe: yet, he attended ſeveral weeks, in hopes of having the ſatisfaction of kiſſing the Queen's hand; but, though *Mr. Secretary Cecil was his friend*, he could not obtain that favour; the Queen only wiſhing him, at laſt, a good journey (*v*). When Lord Southampton

(*t*) Rowland White wrote, on the 11th Auguſt 1599, "that Lord Southampton is diſcharged;" on the 25 September, "that he is returned to London;" on the 1ſt October, that Lord Eſſex had "unexpectedly returned, and "was committed to cuſtody." [Syd. Pap. vol. ii. 115-128-130.] (*u*) Ib. 132.

(*v*) It ſhould ſeem from Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 471, "that Lord Southampton was ſent to Ireland by the Earl of "Eſſex," for whatever purpoſe of good, or evil: Becoming uneaſy there, he went from thence to the Low Countries. [Id.]

departed,

departed, in April 1600, he ſent word to Lord Grey, " that he would meet him in any place " in Ireland." The Queen tranſmitted orders " to ſtay the combat." As a ſoldier, he acted with ſuch good conduct, and bravery, as to obtain the Lord Deputy's commendation. He ſoon ſtopped his military career, in order to end his quarrel with Lord Grey, in *The Low Countrys*. But, in September 1600, they both appeared in London, where their quarrel was ſoon forgotten, by the world, amidſt events of greater moment (*w*).

Meantime, Lord Eſſex was tried, and cenſured for his miſconduct in Ireland. He ſubmitted; and repented; and ſoon again offended. He recalled Lord Southampton from the Low Countries; in order to concert with him projects of inſurrection: And, he laboured, by flatteries, to prevail upon the King of Scots, to enter into their ſeditious projects (*x*). It was at this moment, at the eve of the inſurrection, that Lord Grey aſſaulted Lord Southampton, as he rode along the ſtreets; for which, however, he was committed to the Fleet: So ungoverned were the reſentments of the great, in that, and the ſub-

(*w*) See Rowland White's News, in Syd. Pap. vol. ii. 149—64-5—71-9—82—90—98—209-10-16.

(*x*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 629-30-31.

ſequent,

ſequent, reign (*y*). Lord Southampton now entered, with Lord Eſſex, into the moſt treaſonable conſultations. On the 8th of February 1600-1, they aſſembled, with other conſpirators, at Eſſex-houſe. And, they there impriſoned the privy counſellors, who were ſent by the Queen, to learn the meaning of their tumultuous convention. They now ſallied out, into the city, with rebellious (*z*) purpoſe; expecting to overturn, by ſudden tumult, the beſt eſtabliſhed government in Europe. They were, however, ſoon overpowered. Eſſex, and Southampton, were tried, on the 19th of February, for high treaſon.

(*y*) See Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 629; and Winwood's Mem. vol. i. p. 292.

(*z*) With regard to Eſſex's inſurrection, Camden [Kennet, 632,] remarks what is very curious; "Thoſe that "judged moſt ſeverely of it, termed it perverſeneſs, and an "impatient thirſt for revenge; and they that ſpoke worſt of "it, gave it no harſher name, than that of an indiſcreet "forwardneſs; and to this day, few there are that looked "upon it as a capital offence."—Of this opinion, is Mr. Malone, who ſays, that Lord Southampton was condemned for having joined Lord Eſſex in his *wild project*. [Shakſ. vol. x. p. 5.] We here ſee an example, how an imputation may be caſt on judges and juries, by miſrepreſenting the nature of the criminal's offence: Lord Southampton was not found guilty of "joining in a wild project;" but of levying war againſt the Queen, which, in judgment of law, amounted to high treaſon.

Eſſex

Eſſex was condemned, and executed. Lord Southampton made a defence, modeſt, but feeble: and having calmly aſked the attorney general Coke, what he thought, in his conſcience, they deſigned to do with the Queen? "The ſame," ſaid Coke, with his uſual acuteneſs, "that Henry of Lancaſter did with "Richard the 2d." Lord Southampton was alſo condemned "by all the ſeveral voices of "every one of the peers," who ſat on the trial. Eſſex generouſly requeſted the peers to interpoſe with the Queen, in favour of Southampton; who, he ſaid, was capable of doing her good ſervice. Lord Southampton himſelf begged the peers to intercede for him in ſo becoming a manner, as excited the compaſſion of all, who heard him (*a*). He, at length, obtained a pardon, which ſaved his life, and which he owed to the friendſhip of Mr. Secretary Cecil; between whom, and him, there had been a *nearneſs*, and *intimacy*, from their (*b*) youth; but, Southampton was confined

(*a*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 636.

(*b*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. 635.—Winwood's Mem. vol. i. 307—19.—On this point, however, Mr. Malone reaſons, in his uſual manner, that becauſe there was enmity, between Eſſex and Cecil, there was hatred between Cecil and Southampton; and, in a moment, propitious to illiberality

fined in the tower, from prudential conſiderations, during the reign of the Queen; happily, for himſelf, I think, and fortunately, for his family: For, he was a man of indiſcretion, through his whole life.

It is a fact, which will ever be memorable, in dramatic hiſtory, "that the afternoon before the rebellion, Merrick, with a great "company of others, who were afterwards "in the action, procured to be played before "them, the play of depoſing Richard 2d: "When it was told Merrick, (*c*) by one "of the players, that the play was old, and "they ſhould have loſs in playing it, becauſe "few would come to it, there were forty "ſhillings extraordinary given to play it; and "ſo, thereupon, played it was (*d*). The ingratitude

rality of ſentiment, he ſubjoins, "that Saliſbury's [Cecil's] "*mind* ſeems to have been as *crooked* as his *body*." [Shakſ. vol. x. p. 6.] And, ſee *Reliquiæ* Wotton. 180: and Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 462.

(*c*) Sir Gilly Merrick; who, being charged as the chief commander, that undertook the defence of Eſſex-houſe, was found guilty of treaſon, and executed.

(*d*) See *A Declaration of the Practices and Treaſons, attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Eſſex, and his Complices:*— Printed by Barker, 1601. This declaration was plainly penned by Bacon, and publiſhed by authority.

It

gratitude of Eſſex did not ſink deeper into the heart of Elizabeth, than the acting of this play, as the watch-word of the rebels. Her fears transformed her into Richard 2d; and made her fancy herſelf already a captive princeſs, who was only one ſtep more from the grave (*e*). Her wounded pride induced her to

It contains a copy of "The Examination of the Earl of "Southampton after his Arraignment." There is a doubt among the commentators, whether the play, acted on that occaſion, were Richard 2d, or Henry 4th. [Mal. Shak. vol. v. p. 3.] But, this declaration, with the conference between Elizabeth and Lambarde, ſhow clearly, that there was no ſufficient ground in *The State Trials* for that doubt.

(*e*) The Engliſh world owe much to Mr. Nichols for publiſhing in his *Progreſſes*, vol. ii. p. 1, The conference between Queen Elizabeth, and William Lambarde, on the 4th of Auguſt 1601. She never acted better, though ſhe had received a mortal wound. It is remarkable, that Queen Elizabeth, and Dr. Johnſon, fell upon the ſame mode of delicate commendation: when Johnſon would, indirectly, compliment Beattie's verſes on the birth of the preſent Earl of Errol, he read them aloud with ſuch grace, and dignity, as to charm the hearers: When Elizabeth would compliment Lambarde, ſhe read his *Pandecta Rotulorum*, "with "an audible voice, ſo readily, and diſtinctly, that it clearly "appeared ſhe well underſtood them." Her Majeſty, at length, fell upon the reign of Richard 2d; ſaying: "I am "Richard 2d, know ye not that?" Lambarde anſwered: "Such a wicked imagination was attempted by a moſt un-"kind gentleman, the moſt adorned creature, that ever "your Majeſty made." The Queen replied: "He that

to see her own degradation by him, who had been raised by her favour, and enriched by her bounty: And, she allowed such unworthy thoughts to prey upon her spirits. Distrust constantly whispered, in her ears, what she seems to have believed, that hardly an honest man was any where to be found. Jealousy, and fear, taking alternate possession

" will forget God, will also forget his benefactors; this " tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses." After some indifferent discourse, she asked Lambarde: " If " he had ever seen a lively representation of Richard 2d:" —He answering, " None, but what be in common hands," she said, " She would command Knevet, the keeper of her " house at Westminster, to shew him a picture of Richard " 2d, which Lord Lumley had found on the back side of a " door, in a base room." Returning to the Rolls of ancient times, she said: " In those days force and arms did prevail, " but now the wit of the fox is every where on foot; so as " hardly a faithfull, or virtuous man may be found." In this interesting conference, we may see how the tragedy of Richard 2d hung upon her spirits, and how much the " Unfaithfulness of Essex, and the acting of Richard 2d," contributed to bring that great Queen, with sorrow, to the grave. This deduction is much confirmed by a letter, dated, in 1601; from Sir Robert Sydney to Sir John Harrington: " I do see the Queen often; she doth *wax weak*, " since *the late troubles*; and Burleigh's death doth often " draw tears down her goodly cheeks: She walketh out but " little, meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in " private to her best friends." [See this letter, which is very curious, in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 253.]

of

of her mind, made her apprehend, that ſhe, who was ſupported by the wiſeſt, and braveſt, men in England, was neglected by her own miniſters. Thus torn, by contradictory paſſions, ſhe was at length deſerted by hope, the laſt refuge of the wretched; and ſhe died, on the 24th of March 1603; refuſing ſuſtenance; and rejecting conſolation.

At the acceſſion of James 1ſt to the throne of England, the riſing fortune of Lord Southampton conducted him from his priſon to the palace (*f*). He was releaſed from the tower, on the 10th of April, 1603; and he was immediately reſtored to his lands, and other rights, which had been forfeited, by his attainder. He was made maſter of the game to the Queen. A penſion, of ſix hundred pounds a year, was ſettled on his wife. He was inſtalled a knight of the garter, on the 2d of July 1603; made captain of the iſle of Wight; and, by a new patent, dated the 21ſt of July, he was again created, by his former titles. He was appointed, in the beginning of the

(*f*) On the Queen's demiſe, "Lord Southampton was "much viſited; and much well-wiſhed." He was courted by Bacon. [Bacon's Remains, 61.] Raleigh addreſſed, in Auguſt 1603, a letter of juſtification to the Earls of *Southampton*, Suffolk, and Devonſhire, and to Lord Cecil. [Raleigh's Works by Birch, vol. ii. p. 379.]

ſubſequent year, lord lieutenant of Hampſhire, together with the Earl of Devonſhire. When the parliament met on the 19th of March 1604, Lord Southampton produced his writ of ſummons. The firſt bill, which was read, after the recognition of the King, was for reſtitution of Henry, Earl of Southampton; and immediately was paſſed, a bill for reſtitution of the children of the Earl of Eſſex (*g*). King James, recollecting the intrigues of Eſſex, and the conſpiracy of Gowry, acted, on his acceſſion, as if he had thought, that rebellion againſt Elizabeth was a riſing for him.

Amidſt other felicities of that happy period of his life, Lord Southampton's wife brought

(*g*) See Lords Journal, vol. ii. p. 264-66: On the 26th of March 1604, the Lord Chamberlain ſignified to the houſe of Peers "that the Earls of Southampton and Pembroke "were to be excuſed for their abſence from parliament for "ſome time; for that they were commanded to wait upon "the King in his journey to Royſton." [Ib.] Yet, it is ſaid, that he was arreſted in June 1604, for a *ſuppoſed conſpiracy*. [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. 494.] By the machinations of Eſſex's great adverſary, the Lord Saliſbury, it is ſuppoſed, ſays Mr. Malone, King James was perſuaded to believe, that too great an intimacy ſubſiſted between Lord Southampton, and his Queen. [Shakſ. vol. x. p. 6—9.] See Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 495. Lord Southampton, however, was preſent at the prorogation of parliament, on the 7th of July 1604.—[Lords Journal, vol. ii. of that date.]

him

him a ſon, on the 4th of March 1605; who was chriſtened, at court, on the 27th; "the "King, and Lord Cranburn, with the Coun- "teſs of Suffolk, being goſſips (*b*)." This tide of favour continuing to flow, Lord South-ampton was appointed for life, in June 1606, warden of the New foreſt, and keeper of the park of Lindhurſt. In February 1607, he obtained an additional grant of lands in the New foreſt. In the ſubſequent November, he loſt his mother; who, after the deceaſe of Sir Thomas Heneage, married Sir William Harvey; and who "lefte the beſt of her "ſtuffe to her ſonne, and the greateſt part to "her huſband (*i*)." He now tried to promote his own intereſt, and to benefit the ſtate, by engaging in colonization, notwithſtanding the ſatire of (*j*) Hall, the ſarcaſm of (*k*) Shakſpeare,

(*b*) Winwood's Mem. vol. iii. p. 54: This tranſaction ought to convince the incredulous, that Lord Cranburn [Cecil] was the conſtant friend of Lord Southampton.

(*i*) Lodge's Illuſt. vol. iii. p. 331.

(*j*) In his *Virgidemiarum*, printed in 1599:

"Ventrous Fortunio his farme hath ſold,
"And gads to *Guiane* land to fiſh for gold."

(*k*) In the *Merry Wives of Windſor*:—Falſtaff ſays of Ford's wife: "She bears the purſe too; ſhe is a region in "*Guiana*; all gold, and bounty:"—Of Mrs. Ford, and Mrs. Page, he ſays: "They ſhall be my Eaſt, and Weſt, "Indies; and I will trade to them both."

and the united ridicule of Chapman, Jonſon, and Marſton (*l*). He became, in 1609, a leading character in the firſt Virginia company: He took an active part, in the project of ſending ſhips to the American coaſt, for the purpoſes of diſcovery, and of traffic. During the years 1620-1621, and 1622, he was choſen, in oppoſition to the court, the treaſurer of that corperation, a place of envied truſt (*m*).

Meantime, Lord Southampton engaged in *the brables* of the town, which evince, by

(*l*) In *Eaſtward Hoe*, 1605:—Scapethrift aſks, "If "Virginia be a pleaſant countrie?". Seagull anſwers: "As "ever the ſunne ſhin'd on: Wild bore is as common there, "as our tameſt bacon is here; veniſon, as mutton; and "you ſhall live freely there, without ſergeants, or courtiers, "or lawyers, or intelligencers: You may be an alderman "there, without being a ſcavenger; you may be any other "officer there, and never be a ſlave: To riches and fortune "enough, you may come, and never have the more vil-"lainye, nor the leſs witte: Beſides, there, we ſhall have "no more law, than conſcience; and not too much of "either." It is curious to obſerve, that Virginia had not been planted, in 1605. It was firſt colonized, in 1607. [See Stith's Hiſtory of Virginia, printed at Williamſburg, in that country, 1747.]

(*m*) Ib. 231: Several places were named in Virginia after Lord Southampton: as, Southampton-hundred: Hampton-roads.

their

their frequency, during "the gentle ſleeping "peace" of James's reign, the turbulence of the age. In April 1610, he had a quarrel with the Earl of Montgomery: "They fell "out at tennis, where the rackets flew about "their ears, but the matter was compounded "by the King, without further bloodſhed (*n*). He was ſoon after diſtinguiſhed, in a more honourable manner. When Henry was created Prince of Wales, on the 4th of June 1610, Lord Southampton acted as his carver, at the ſplendid (*o*) entertainment, which was given on that feſtive day. In July 1613, expecting a viſit at his houſe, in the New foreſt, from the King, in his progreſs, Lord Southampton returned from the continent, with unwelcome haſte (*p*). He now received dedications from the learned; and, in return, gave protection to learning (*q*). In 1617, he accompanied

(*n*) Winwood's Mem. vol. iii. p. 154.

(*o*) Ib. 180. (*p*) Ib. 461—75.

(*q*) In 1614, Richard Brathwayt, dedicated *The Scholars Medley* "to Lord Southampton, learning's beſt favourite." In 1617, Lord Southampton contributed, with other munificent patrons of learning, and worth, to relieve the diſtreſs of *Minſheu*, the elaborate author of *The Guide to Tongues*. See a very curious advertiſement to the *firſt* edition of that learned, and uſeful, work.

King

King James, into Scotland (*r*). His attentions on that journey paved the way to an honour, which he had long ſolicited, without ſucceſs; being ſworn a privy-counſellor, on the 19th of April 1619. But, as he never was remarkable for prudence, he ſeems to have derived no benefit from the ſtation, to which he had looked up as the conſummation of his wiſhes. As the court did not act with him; ſo he acted againſt the court: He oppoſed, both in the Virginia company, and in parliament, the deſires of the King, and the meaſures of the miniſter. He made a ſucceſsful motion againſt illegal patents, in the parliament, which met the beginning of the year 1621 (*s*). It was at the ſitting of the 14th of March, that he had an altercation with the Marquis of Buckingham, which was moderated by the Prince of Wales. Yet, on account of ſuſpicions, which were entertained of his intrigues, on that occaſion, with members of the Houſe of Commons, he was committed, on the 16th of June, twelve days after the adjournment of parliament, to the keeping of

(*r*) Lord Southampton returned from Scotland, on the 28th of June 1618. [Bacon's Letters, p. 126.]

(*s*) Lord's Journal, vol. iii. p. 10—46—62.

the

the Dean of Weſtminſter, under the charge of Sir William Parkhurſt (*t*). On the 18th of July, he was ſo far enlarged, as to be confined to his houſe, at Titchfield: And, on the 1ſt of September he was ſet, altogether, at liberty (*u*).

This confinement did not repreſs Lord Southampton's activity, and uſefulneſs, in the new parliament, which aſſembled on the 9th of February 162$\frac{3}{4}$. He was on the committee, for conſidering of the defence of Ireland; he was on the committee, for the ſtopping of the export of money; he was on the committee, for the making of arms, more ſerviceable: And he was preſent at the prorogation, on the 29th of May 1624 (*v*). The animoſity of the nation againſt Spain, and the violence of the parliament, which was excited by that reſentment, obliged King James to depart from his pacific ſyſtem, although contrary to

(*t*) Camden, in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 656-7: And ſee Lord Southampton's examination in the appendix to Tyrwhit's *Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons*, 1620, printed at Oxford, 1766.

(*u*) Council-regiſters of thoſe dates. And ſee *the Cabala*, for his correſpondence with the Lord Keeper Williams, on that occaſion, p. 331-2 of the edit. 1691.

(*v*) Lords Journals, vol. iii. p. 237—258—293.

his

his warmeſt remonſtrances. In this manner, was James induced to enter into a treaty, on the 5th of June 1624, with the States General; for continuing the defenſive alliance between (*w*) them; and for allowing them to raiſe four regiments in England, which were to conſiſt of ſix thouſand men. Lord Southampton obtained the command of one of thoſe regiments (*x*). In this inglorious ſervice of a foreign power, he loſt his eldeſt ſon, and his own life: He died at Bergen-op-zoom, on the 10th of November; and was buried at Titchfield, with his ſon, on the 28th of December 1624. He left three daughters, who married into honourable families; and a widow, who long ſurvived him (*y*). The

facts,

(*w*) The treaty is publiſhed in a *General Collection*, printed in 1713, p. 226. From this treaty, it appears, that the four regiments were each to contain twelve companies, who were to be commanded by one colonel; the whole were to be under commiſſions from *The States General*.

(*x*) Mr. Malone ſays he was appointed *jointly* with the Earl of Eſſex, Lords Oxford, and Willoughby, to the command of ſix thouſand men, who were ſent to the Low Countries. [Shakſ. vol. x. p. 6.] The fact is, as I have ſtated it, that Lord Southampton was merely colonel of a regiment in the Dutch ſervice; as the treaty clearly proves.

(*y*) There is in the Cabala, p. 299, a letter from the Lord Keeper Williams, dated the 7th Novr. 1624, to the

Duke

facts, that have, in this manner, been fairly ſtated, are the beſt illuſtrations of his genuine character; and are the ſtrongeſt proofs of his literary connection with Shakſpeare.

Yet, the public accuſer declares, that the epiſtles between Southampton, and Shakſpeare, "if poſſible ſurpaſs in abſurdity any thing we "have yet examined (*z*)." In order to prove this abſurdity, he produces, as his firſt argument, an exiſting *archetype* of theſe epiſtles, which might be "commodiouſly wrought "upon (*a*)." As his ſecond argument, he ſtates, an exiſting *tradition*, which was firſt mentioned by Mr. Rowe, and had been tranſmitted to him by Sir William D'Avenant, that Lord Southampton had given Shakſpeare a thouſand pounds. And, he ſubjoins, as his third argument, that this ſtory, true, or falſe, was a good ſubject for a correſpondence, between the patron and the poet. Now, theſe are the very arguments, which would have induced Watts, Locke, and Wilſon, who, in their ſeveral ages, had taught *right reaſon to*

Duke of Buckingham; begging "his grace and goodneſs "towards the moſt diſtreſſed widow and children of my "Lord Southampton."

(*z*) Inquiry, 164. (*a*) Ib. 166.

lytell

lytell wittes, to be of opinion, that the ſaid correſpondence, between the patron and the poet, was, probably, genuine. Our Inquirer's fourth argument is an aſſertion, that "the "hand-writing of the firſt letter has not the "ſlighteſt reſemblance to that of (*b*) Shak-"ſpeare;" as if the hand-writing of Shakſpeare had been ever aſcertained. His fifth argument is an affirmation, without proof, "that the ſpelling is the ſpelling of no time;" as if there had been, in thoſe times, any *ſettled rule* for ſpelling. And, he inſiſts, as a ſixth argument, that Shakſpeare has here departed from the duplication of the *r* in for; as if the public accuſer had not before objected to the duplication of the *r* in *forre*, as unprecedented in the Engliſh ſpeech.

But, he will, now, produce an objection, which muſt carry conviction with it to every mind. By way of compenſation for the illogical weakneſs of his former arguments, he "gives us *blloſſomes* and *bllooms*, a combination "of conſonants of which no example can be "produced in the Engliſh language, from "the time of Robert of Gloſter to this "day." If the objection be levelled againſt the

(*b*) Inquiry, p. 171.

duplication

duplication of the *l*, as unexampled, a more diligent inquiry will probably find, that his assumption is unsupported by the fact. Not one of the letters in our alphabet has been more duplicated, by our British ancestors, than l (*c*). From them we have, to this day, Llandaff, Llewellin, and Lloyd. This duplication of the Britons was converted, by our Saxon progenitors, into an *aspirate:* as *hlaf*, for loaf; *hlafmaesse*, for lammas (*d*). And the practice was still more softened, by our ancestors, during the civil contests of York, and Lancaster; as may be seen in *sympyll* for (*e*) *simple*; *Mychellmesse* for *Michaelmas*; in *allmesse*, for (*f*) *alms*; *chapellayn*, for (*g*) *chaplain*; and in *allmyghty* God (*b*): "Yff they "wolle not dredde ne obbey that," says Sir John (*i*) Fastolfe, with great piety, but with great duplication of consonants. There was

(*c*) See Davis Dictionary under the letter *Ll:* And see Salesbury's British Grammar, 1567, Sig^r. D. 1: "Of the "straunge sound of double *ll*:—The Englysheman's "toungue, when he would sound *ll*, slydeth to *tl*."

(*d*) See Manning's Lye, L.

(*e*) Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 282.

(*f*) Ib. vol. ii. 84. (*g*) Ib. vol. ii. 88.

(*b*) Ib. vol. ii. 34. (*i*) Ib. 52.

a fashion

a faſhion in ſpelling, among particular perſons, as in objects of greater conſequence. The *worthy wyffe* of the *worſchopffull* John Paſton had a paſſion for the duplication of g: as Haſtynggs, for Haſtings; tynggys, for things; as tydynggs, for tidings; as, the *Kynggs howyn hand*. In 1455, the great Earl of Warwick affected to duplicate, both the g, and the n: He dated his letter from "Wythinne owr loggyng in ye G.^y^ Freys "wythinne Newgate (*k*). During the reigns of Henry 8, and his three children, the ſtate-papers, publiſhed by Lodge, illuſtrate this point of the orthography, as well as throw abundant light upon the hiſtory of England. Mr. Malone fails, then, in his aſſumption, that ſuch a duplication of conſonants is unexampled, in the Engliſh language, from the days of Edward 1ſt to the preſent (*l*).

But, Shakſpeare was too good a naturaliſt, the public accuſer repeats, not to know, that

(*k*) Ib. vol. i. 86.

(*l*) He ſeems to forget "The goodly Hyſtory of the "true, and conſtant Love between *Rh*omeo and Ju-"lietta," in Painter's *Palace of Pleaſure*, vol. ii. p. 179; wherein he might have ſeen the *unprecedented* duplication of *Rh*omeo.

a bud

a bud *firſt blooms*, and then (*m*) *bloſſoms*; and too good a drayman, it ſeems, to put the cart before the horſe. I ſuſpect, however, that while Shakſpeare's heart was overflowing with gratitude, his eye was fixed on a paſſage of Gaſcoigne, in praiſe of *Concord* (*n*):

" When tract of time returnes the luſtie *ver*,
" By thee alone the *buds* and *bloſſomes* ſpring:
" The fields with flowers begarniſhed ev'ry where,
" The *blooming* trees aboundant leaves do bring."

In the ſame ſtrain of aſſumption, the public accuſer goes on to ſuppoſe, that Shakſpeare was *careleſs*; that our *careleſs* poet never kept a copy of any letter he wrote; and, that the epithet *Grace* was never applied to peers, who

(*m*) See Johnſon in Vo. *Bloom*, a *bloſſom*; to *bloom*; to bring *bloſſoms*: See Aſh, in Vo. Bloom, a bloſſom; to *bloom* to bloſſom: And ſee Florio's *World of Words*, 1598, in Vo. *Pulluli*, buds, bloſſomes, or young ſprigges; *Pullulare* to bud, bloſſome, to ſpring. Shakſpeare was too good a philologiſt not to know, that *blooms*, and *bloſſoms*, are ſynonimas; and like other writers, who are labouring more with the thought, than the language, tried to add ſomething to the force of the ſentiment, by the repetition of ſynonimas, how contrary ſoever this may be to later practice. Shakſpeare may have learned, as he learned other matters, from Painter's *Palace of Pleaſure*, 1567, by means of the tale of " The Empreſſe Fauſtina, and the Counteſs of Celant, what " *bloſſoms blome* of whoriſh life, and what fruictes thereof be " culled." [See the preface to the ſecond volume.]

(*n*) England's Parnaſſus, 1600, p. 33.

were inferior to dukes: For, he adds, the phraſe,—*his Grace of Norfolk, or his Grace of Bucks*, is much poſterior to the ſixteenth century (*o*). But, to aſſert is always more eaſy than to inquire. I join iſſue with the public accuſer, upon the point: and, I undertake, on the contrary, to prove, that the epithet *Grace* was applied to the lower orders of nobility, during the fifteenth century. A love ſick lady, writing to a baron, bold, produced theſe memorable verſes (*p*):

" My Ryght good Lord, moſt knyghtly, gentyll knyght,
" Onto yo'r *Grace*, in my moſt humbyll wyſe
" I me commend———
" Onto your *Lordſhep* to wryght w'ought lycence."

Having thus proved my point, I might here cloſe my proof: But, for the eſtabliſhment of truth, will I ſhow, equally, that his ſecond poſition is as groundleſs, as his firſt. Drant has ſome (*q*) verſes, which he dedicated " To " the

(*o*) Inquiry, 172-3.—The phraſe too; " *Jocky of Norfolk* " be not too bold, for Dickon, thy maſter, is bought, and " ſold;" is much poſterior, no doubt, to the age of Shakſpeare.

(*p*) Fenn's Let. vol. iii. p. 304, in the time, either of Henry 6th, or of Edward 4th.

(*q*) Tranſlation of Horace, 1566:—
" O fame, where dydſte thou then ſojorne,
" Inviron'd in what place,
" Waſt

"the Duke's grace's departynge:" The fact is, that there was no ſettled practice, for the application of complimental epithets, to the peers. When Shakſpeare dedicated his *Venus* and *Adonis* to Lord Southampton, in 1593, he concluded; "your *honours*, in all duty:" when he dedicated his *Rape* of *Lucrece*, to the ſame patron, in 1594, he concluded; "your *lordſhips* in all duty." The ſtate papers, and the ſtage plays of that period ſhow, plainly, that there was no ſettled practice, in the uſual mode of addreſs either to the (*r*) prince, or to the

"Waſt thou? that we in no wiſe knewe,
"The commyng of his *grace*."

This, I preſume, was the Duke of Northumberland, who proclaimed Queen Mary, at Cambridge, on the 20th of July; and was beheaded on the 22d of Auguſt, 1553. [Howe's Chron. 612-14.]

(*r*) In Shakſpeare's Henry 6, part 2d, act 1, ſ. 2:

Hume. Jeſu preſerve your royal *majeſty!*
Duch. What ſay'ſt thou, *majeſty!* I am but *grace*.
Hume. But, by the grace of God, and Hume's advice,
Your *grace's* title ſhall be multiply'd.
Duch. What ſay'ſt thou, man? has thou as yet conferred
With Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch;
And Roger Bolingbroke, the conjurer?
And will they undertake to do me good?
Hume. This, they have promiſed: To ſhow your *highneſs*
A ſpirit rais'd from depth of underground,
That ſhall make anſwer to ſuch queſtions,
As by your *grace* ſhall be propounded him."

the peer. And, it is, therefore, inconclusive, to found objections upon a supposed uniformity, which never, in fact, existed.

But, the public accuser asserts with the same positiveness, which is equally unsupported by proofs, that the conclusion of Shakspeare's epistle *is* "*completely modern :*" "*Yours de-*" *votedlye* and with due respecte," he affirms, is a conclusion completely modern (*s*). On this position, I again join issue with him. The subject is curious, as a point of archaeology; if it were not always of importance to vindicate the truth. Fenn's letters show, with sufficient distinctness, how familiarly the epistolary correspondence of the fifteenth century was concluded. For example: In 1473,

This passage is alone sufficient to prove, that there was then, no settled form of using *majesty*, *grace*, and *highness*. And, see act 1. s. 3. *Grace* is an epithet, which Shakspeare has been studious to use in many forms. [See Ayscough's Index, in Vo. *Grace*.] In Phaer's dedication of his *Virgil* to Queen Mary, in 1558, he calls her indiscriminately "gracious "*highness*, excellent *princesse*, soverain good ladie, redought-"ed maistresse, *majesty*, and *grace*." James Howel, writing to Jane, the Marchioness of Winchester, in 1626, concluded; "Your *grace's* most humble and ready servitor." [Howel's Letters, 116.] This quotation proves, that the epithet, *grace*, had not, even in 1626, been appropriated by scholars.

(*s*) Inquiry, 177.

"Your

" Your fellow,— Haſtyngs (*t*):" "Your, " John Paſton (*u*):"—In 1465, " *Per le vo-* " *tre*, J. Payn (*v*):" In 1469, " Yours', " Margaret Paſton (*w*)." In 1460, " Your " friend, Scales (*x*). In 1460, " Your prieſt, " the abbot of Langley (*y*)." In 1485, the Duke of Norfolk, writing to John Paſton, concluded his epiſtle, " Your *lover*, J. Nor- " folk (*z*)." The ſame familiarity of ſtyle continued through the ſubſequent century; as may be ſeen in Howard's Collections. Lady Stanley, writing, in 1571, to Lord Suſſex, concluded, " Yours, Iſabel Stanley (*a*)" The Duke of Norfolk, writing to Mr. Secretary Cecil, in 1567, concluded, " Your ever moſt " beholden." Lord Windeſor, writing in 1560, to Lord Suſſex, concluded, " by your aſſur- " ed (*b*)." The Earl of Eſſex, writing to

(*t*) Fenn's Let. vol. ii. p. 155. (*u*) Ib. 133.

(*v*) Ib. vol. i. 63. (*w*) Ib. 31.

(*x*) Ib. vol. iii. 367. (*y*) Ib. 401.

(*z*) Ib. 335:—Cardinal Wolſey, after his fall, concluded his letter to Secretary Gardiner, in the following manner: " Wryttyn at Aſher with the tremyllyng hand and hevy hert " of your aſſuryd *lover* and bedyſman, T. Carl^is. Ebor." [Strype's Mem. vol. i. apx. 91.] The cardinal concluded another of his letters to Secretary Gardiner: " *Yours*, with " hert and prayer, T. Carl^is. Ebor. *miſerrimus*." [Ib. 90.]

(*a*) Howard's Col. 235. (*b*) Ib. 221.

the Lord Chamberlain, in 1577, concluded, "Your lordſhip's moſt bounden." Baldwin finiſhed his epiſtle dedicatory of his *Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in 1559, by ſaying, "Yours "moſt humblie." In 1567, Painter concluded the dedication of his *Palace* of *Pleaſure* to Sir George Howard, by ſubſcribing himſelf, "Your moſt bounden." When the *Doome* to *Judgement* was dedicated to the Lord Chancellor Bromley, in 1581, the author finiſhed his epiſtle, by ſubſcribing, "*Yours* at com- "mandment, Stephen Batman, in divinity "profeſſor." In January, 1589, Spenſer concluded his prefatory epiſtle of the Fairy Queen to Raleigh, "*Yours* moſt humbly af- "fectionate:" He concluded his dedication of *Colin Clout* to Raleigh: "Yours ever "humbly Edmond Spenſer." The *Penitent Publican* was dedicated, in 1610, to the Counteſſe of Huntington, by the author, who ſubſcribed, "*Your honors* moſt *humblie de-* "*voted*, Thomas Collins." When Drayton publiſhed a corrected edition of his poems, in 1613, he addreſſed them to his eſteemed friend, *Maſter* James Huiſh, by ſaying; "In "good faith, worthy of all love I think you, "which I pray you let ſupply the place of "further *compliment*; *yours* ever, Michael "Drayton."

" Drayton." The dedications of books, during the preceding age, are, generally, concluded, by ſuch familiar expreſſions, as " *Yours* " moſt humblie;" " Yours moſt humblie *devoted*;" " *Yours* ever." But, I will *knit up this looped network*,—

" ——— or at the leaſt, ſo prove it,
" That the probation bear no hinge, nor loop,
" To hang a doubt on,"—

by quoting the modern concluſion of Heylyn's dedication to his "*Little Deſcription of the Great World*," in 1624; " To the moſt excellent Charles Prince of Wales;" ſubſcribing himſelf, " Your Highneſſe moſt " humbly *devoted*, Peter Heylyn."

Yet, the public accuſer poſitively inſiſts upon his point: and continues to call for examples of ſuch familiar phraſes, that were uſed by the *low* to the *high*: *yours*, and yours *devotedly*, he ſays explicitly, *he has never found in the concluſion of letters*, during Shakſpeare's age (*c*). By quoting ſuch concluſions of epiſtles, in that, and the preceding, age, I have ſaved him

(*c*) Inquiry, 179: The ſhort anſwer is; " Seek, and " ye ſhall find:" Look into Fenn's Letters, every where; in Howard's Collections; in the Cabala; in the Sydney Papers; which are all books, he ſometimes quotes;—and in the epiſtolary dedications of black letter pamphlets; of which he has many thouſands.

the trouble of a ſecond ſearch, although it may mortify the *conceit* of ſceptics, who ſuppoſe, that a thing does not exiſt; becauſe they cannot find it.

In this ſpirit of ſcepticiſm, however, the public accuſer takes a view of Lord Southampton's anſwer to Shakſpeare's epiſtle (*d*). Of this munificent patron, the *paymaſter* of Florio, he is ſtudious to ſtate, as his firſt argument, that "all the poets and artiſts of the "time looked up to him as their protec-"tor (*e*)." From this fact, *Crouſaz* would have (*f*) concluded, that it is very probable, ſuch a Southampton would write ſuch an epiſtle to ſuch a Shakſpeare. The public accuſer now paſſes from the orthography; and comes to the phraſeology; although he ſtill worſhips *uniformity*, as the idol of his philology. The *Deare William* of the addreſs, he thinks too familiar, for, "the immeaſurable diſtance at "which Shakſpeare ſtood from Lord South-"ampton (*g*)." This diſtance was not more immeaſurable, than the height between Queen Elizabeth and her female attendants; and,

(*d*) Inquiry, 179.

(*e*) Ib. 180.

(*f*) See *La Logique*. Amſter. 1720.

(*g*) Inquiry, 181.

King

King James and his male ſervants: Yet, to Lady Drury Elizabeth wrote, "Bee well "ware *my Beſſe*;" to Lady Paget, "good "Kate," to Lady Norris, "my own (*h*) "crowe:" King James began his letters to the Lord Treaſurer, Saliſbury, "My little (*i*) "beagle," and to the Duke of Buckingham, "My dear ſtinie (*k*)." But, it ſeems, peers were, in thoſe days, more ſtarched, than their ſovereigns: And yet, we ſee nothing of this in Fenn's Letters; nor in Lodge's Illuſtrations. The endearing epithet *Deare*, in the commencement of an epiſtle, is quite unexampled, it ſeems; yet, have we, in 1550, "My *dereſt* friend;" as the firſt words of a letter from Sir George Hayward to a lady (*l*).

(*h*) Inquiry, 111-13-14. And, ſee, in Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 166, a letter from Elizabeth to Burghley 1583, which begins "*Sir ſpirit*, I doubt I do nickname you: For "thoſe of your kind (they ſay) have no ſenſe. But, I have "of late ſeen an *ecce ſignum*, that if an aſſe kick you, you "feel it ſo ſoon, &c." She concluded: "God bleſs you, "and long may you laſt, *omnino*, E. R."—Burleigh had his revenge of her; as may be ſeen in Peck.

(*i*) Syd. Pap. vol. ii. p. 325.

(*k*) See in Lord Hailes's Mem. Glaſg. 1766, ſeveral letters from *Stinie* to King James; which he concludes; "Your majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog."

(*l*) Howard's Collections, p. 521.

When

When Elizabeth wiſhed to diſavow her odious privity to the death of Mary, ſhe began her deceitful letter to the Scottiſh king (*m*): "My "*dear* brother; I woulde you knew the ex-"treme dolor that overwhelmes my minde "for that miſerable accident." A more capital objection, though not more ſtrongly ſupported, ſtill remains. "*Dear Willam* is the "pronunciation of a vulgar illiterate female of "the preſent day (*n*)." Had the expreſſion been *Will'm*, or *Wm*, it had been, without objection; becauſe Shakſpeare himſelf has written it in that contracted form. From ſuch an objection, and ſuch reaſonings, the public accuſer goes on to tell (*o*) us, how Lord

(*m*) Ib. 246: She repeats, "You have not in the world "a more lovinge kinſwoman, nor a more *deer frende*, then "myſelf." Eſſex, writing to Elizabeth, begins: "moſt "*dear* and moſt admired lady." [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 443; and ſee many more ſuch *dear* expreſſions in the ſame book, p. 418, 430, 437.] Lady Leiceſter, writing to her ſon, the Earl of Eſſex, in 1598, concluded; "your mother, "*dearlieſt* loving you." [Ib. 388.] One of the letters of the once faſhionable Euphues to his *friend* Livia, began: "*Deare* Livia, I am as glad to hear of thy welfare, as for-"rowful to underſtand thy newes." [Lyly's *Euphues*, 1581, p. 86.] Hamlet, writing to Ophelia, begins: "O dear "Ophelia;" and concludes: "Thine evermore moſt *dear* "lady."

(*n*) Inquiry, 182. (*o*) Ib. 181.

Southampton *would have written*, had he *condeſcended to write* to our poet. He can alſo tell us, no doubt, what would be of great importance to know, whether, when Lord Southampton *condeſcended to* box with Willoughbye, he ſtruck with his fiſt open, or ſhut; and, when he *condeſcended* to *brable* at tennis with Lord Montgomery, whether Lord Southampton fought with the racket, in his right hand, or his left. The Records in the Tower could not ſtand before arguments of ſuch "*pith* and *puiſſance*."

But, the public accuſer, is now to give the laſt blow to this celebrated correſpondence. He thinks it very *abſurd* for Lord Southampton to call Shakſpeare his deareſt *freynd*, even had *this been the ſpelling* of the age: Here, again, he ſuppoſes what he ought to prove; but, what did not exiſt, the *uniformity of ſpelling* (*p*). In the ſame ſtrain, he objects to the *concluſion*, "yours, Southampton." But, I have already ſhown, that *yours* was a very common concluſion of letters before Lord

(*p*) Inquiry, 182. Had he looked, with more care, into Spenſer's *Three Proper Letters*, 1580, which he ſometimes quotes, he would have ſeen, in p. 5, *frende*; in p. 31-33. *friend*; in p. 37, *freendes*; and in p. 61, *friende*: Here, then, are *four* varieties, which illuſtrate *the ſpelling of the age*; and reiterate the proof of its want of uniformity.

Southampton

Southampton was born, during the age, wherein he lived, and after his deceaſe: And, I have alſo proved, that the mode of ſignature "with the Chriſtian name (*q*) prefixed," was neither hereditary in his family, nor the uniform practice of Lord Southampton himſelf. He fails, then, in his ſuppoſitions, and his proofs: And, he fails, therefore, in his objection to the concluſion of the letter; which is not objectionable, if practice form precedent.

He, at length, produces "two (*r*) letters, "written by Lord Southampton, the *only letters* of *his* known to be extant:" Had the public accuſer produced theſe letters ſimply, and proved their authenticity; the inquiry, on this head, would have been greatly ſhortened: But, he is conſtantly contaminating truth, by ſome intermixture of fiction; which, as it cannot be admitted, becauſe it is untrue, at once provokes remark, and calls for confutation. Why aſſert, that theſe are the only letters of Lord Southampton, which are known

(*q*) Inquiry, 184. Lord Southampton did not prefix his *Chriſtian* name: he only prefixed the initial of it, according to Mr. Malone's own ſhowing; though I have produced a letter, which he did ſign with his Chriſtian name; beſides, the *diverſity* proves the *want* of *uniformity*.

(*r*) Inquiry, 185.

to

to exiſt, although this aſſertion is contrary to the fact; a fact, that I have already aſcertained? Yet; I will not puſh him further on the point; as I am of opinion, that the never-to-be-forgotten epiſtles of Southampton, and Shakſpeare, are ſpurious; a truth, of which I was early convinced, not by the proofs of the public accuſer, but by the power of attorney from Lord Southampton, before-mentioned (*s*).

Such is the Apology, which the believers *addreſs*, with *bland words*, to this equitable court. When the ſtrength of the *General Argument* ſhall be compared with the feebleneſs of the *ſpecial* objections: when the violent preſumption, ariſing from collateral circumſtances, ſhall be oppoſed to the ſlight evidence, which the compariſon of unknown hand-writing affords: The believers will humbly hope, that this court will allow the public accuſer *to take nothing by his motion.* When he ſhall have reflected on this iſſue of his *bad pleading*, he may then cry out:—

« Ha! Do I dream? Is this my hop'd ſucceſs?
« I grow a ſtatue, ſtiff, and *motionleſs.*".

(*s*) See before, page 135.

§ IV. SHAK-

—— § IV. ——

SHAKSPEARE'S LETTER; AND VERSES To ANNA HATHERREWAYE.

The public accuſer, nevertheleſs, is reſolved not to remain long in *his dream*. The confutation of his pleading, and the denial of his motion, only urge the activity of his perſeverance. And he now plays off his former objections, with his accuſtomed logic, on the *Epiſtle*, and *Verſes*, of the love-ſick Shakſpeare. That a youth of eighteen, who was born a poet, and who at that age fell in love, and married the object of his paſſion, ſhould write a love-letter, and love-verſes, to the goddeſs of his idolatry, the public accuſer thinks very unnatural: and, being thus unlikely to happen, he infers, with the help of Venus, and her (*a*) ſon, that it is very improbable, ſuch a lover ſhould ſend ſuch *love-ſhafts ſmartly from his bow*. Occupied as he is, with "all the "Loves and (*b*) Graces," whom Mr. Malone invokes, the public accuſer can never believe—

(*a*) Inquiry, 142. (*b*) Inquiry, 142.

"Theſe

" Thefe antique fables, nor thefe fairy toys.
" Lovers, and madmen, have fuch feething brains,
" Such fhaping fantafies, that apprehend
" More than cool reafon ever comprehends.
" The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,
" Are of imagination all compact."

It is the logic of love, then, which ought to decide the fact as to " thefe fairy toys " of Shakfpeare; the letter, the verfes, and the lock of hair. Yet, doth the public accufer think it worth our inquiry, " how far the " lady here meant was entitled to this addrefs, " or how probable it was that this letter " fhould ever reach her hands (*c*)." Shakfpeare, by marrying the lady, has decided the point, in the affirmative: And, therefore, by every motive of love, by every principle of logic, by every rule of law, is the public accufer *eftopped* from inftituting fuch an inquiry, which, indeed, *cool reafon can fcarcely comprehend*. But, he perfeveres; and affirms, with all the confidence of truth, that " She had no title whatfoever to either " of thofe names: fhe was chriftened plain " *Anne*, and her name was not *Hatherreweye*, " as fhe is here abfurdly called, but *Hatha-* " *way* (*d*):" Thus, applying the parifh regifters, as a decifive rule, for judging of

(*c*) Inquiry, 144. (*d*) Ib. 144.

" the

" the lunatic, the lover, and the poet." The ſaid pariſh regiſters do not, however, record the baptiſm, or marriage of Anna Hatherre-waye, but the marriage of one Anne Hatha-way, who, he himſelf allows, was a different lady; and who was unluckily deſtined to a very different huſband (*e*).

But, of ſuch inquiries, and ſuch logic, there is no end! If it be true, that Shak-ſpeare was born a poet; that Shakſpeare's *genius was to itſelf a law*; is it not reaſonable to infer, that ſuch a poet, as Shakſpeare, would, at the age of eighteen, read the writ-ings of ſuch a poet, as Spenſer (*f*)? Who would controvert this concluſion, but ſcep-tics? Shakſpeare, then, muſt have ſtudied the *Three Proper Letters* of Spenſer, which are inſtructive, for their criticiſm, and digni-fied, for their ſenſe. And, herein, Shakſpeare, doubtleſs, ſaw Spenſer's verſes, " To my good " Miſtreſſe ANNE: the very lyfe of my lyfe, " and onely beloved myſtreſſe :—

(*e*) Ib. 146.

(*f*) The controverſy, with regard to *the learning* of Shakſpeare, was decided, by a ſimilar argument; by ſhow-ing that, as there exiſted tranſlations of the claſſics, which Shakſpeare *might* read; ſo he *did* probably read them.

" Gentle

" Gentle Miſtreſſe *Anne*, I am plaine by nature:
" I was never ſo farre in loue with any creature.
" Happy were your ſeruant, if hee coulde bee ſo Anned
" And you not vnhappy, if you ſhoulde be ſo manned.
" I love not to gloze, where I love indeede,
" Nowe God, and good Saint Anne, ſende me good ſpeede (*g*)."

Here, then, is the precedent for Shakſpeare's epiſtle, and the archetype of his verſes. To this theory, however, the public accuſer has an objection at hand: If Shakſpeare did not underſtand Latin, he could not tranſlate the Engliſh Anne, into the Latin Anna. But, is it, in fact, a tranſlated, or an original, name? Mr. Waldron will inform (*b*) us, indeed, " that " *Anna* is a *Latin* adoption of comparatively " modern uſe;" [*Hebrew*, he ſhould have ſaid]. And, Mr. Malone will aſſure us that, " to " talk of ANNA *Hatherrewaye*, in 1582, is " truly ridiculous (*i*)." He appeals to Lord Charlemont upon the point. The firſt riſe, he adds, of the prevailing paſſion for ſonorous Chriſtian names is well remembered. The Lady Elizas, the Lady Matildas, and Lady Louiſas, have now gained a compleat aſcendency; and a Lady Betty, or a Lady Fanny is hardly to be found (*k*). His poſition is, that

(*g*) Three Proper Letters, 1580, p. 43.
(*b*) Free Reflections, 10.
(*i*) Inquiry, 145. (*k*) Id.

till within *time of memory*, the women of this country were not known by *poetical* names. Upon this poſition, I join iſſue with him. I maintain, that the ladies of our iſland were, in former times, diſtinguiſhed, by names as *poetical*, as themſelves were elegant. Such as: Gulielma, Milmetta, Philippa, Franciſca, were their uſual appellations (*l*). In the 5th of Stephen, *Lucia*, the Counteſs of Cheſter, was fined, in the Exchequer, that "She might do "right among her tenants (*m*)." *Joia*, the widow of William, the fuſor, or melter, in the time of Henry 2, and Richard 1, "prof-"fered ten merks, to have livery of the lands, "and chattels of her huſband;" but, ſhe was too poor to pay the fine (*n*). Lady *Juliana* Berners wrote the "Boke of Hunting," at

(*l*) Camden's Remains, 86: And, among the *uſual Chriſtian* names of women, that great antiquary mentions *Anna*; ſignifying, *gracious*, or *merciful*. Ib. 77.

(*m*) Madox's Exchequ. vol. i. p. 397. This book contains many ſuch names in thoſe *olden* times: as, Mabilia, Sibylla, Wiverona, Abreda, Aeliza, Emma, Maria, Matilda, Roheiſa, Helewiſa, Gundreda, Conſtantia, Alicia, Hawiſa, Cecilia, Iſolda; and many others of ſimilar ſound, who paid fines, for either marrying, or refuſing to marry. And ſee Madox, vol. i. p. 463-4.

(*n*) Madox, vol. ii. p. 309: And, ſee Dugdale's Baronage, every where, for ſuch names.

the epoch of the invention of typography. Lady *Arabella* Steward was baptized, in 1578 (*o*). Spenser dedicated his *Daphnaide*, in 1591, to *Helena*, the Marchioness of Northampton. The Countess of Northumberland, who was the celebrated Earl of Essex's sister, was named *Diana*. I will now close my proofs, with regard to *the issue joined*, on this subject, by stating a fact, which will convince the reader, that *beyond time* of *memory*, very *sonorous* names were given to girls: —"On the thirteeth of July 1616, was bap-"tized, at Wimbledon, the Lady GEORGI-"ANNA, the daughter of the Earl of Exeter; "Queen Anne, and the Earl of Worcester, "being witnesses (*p*)." The public accuser, therefore, fails, egregiously, in proving his position.

(*o*) Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 178: Yet, she always signed her name, *Arbella*, to her letters; as, indeed, she engraved her name on the walls of her prison, in the tower.

(*p*) Lysons's Environs, vol. i. p. 537: And see the marriage of Christopher Wraye, Esq. and *Alba Ria* Cecil, in 1633. [Id.] Richard Burbadge, the celebrated comedian, *the fellow* of Shakspeare, named two of his daughters *Julia*, not *Juliet*, as Mr. Malone mistakingly asserts. John Florio, the lexicographer, who was eleven years older than Shakspeare, gave his only daughter the name of *Aurelia*.

But, he will, doubtleſs, be more ſucceſsful, in his next challenge: "In plain proſe the "moſt diligent *reſearcher* will, I am confi- "dent, not diſcover a ſingle *Anna* in the "ſixteenth century (*q*)." I accept of his challenge. I produce the *Bible*, printed by Barker, in 1583: "And there was a prophe- "teſſe one *Anna*, the daughter of Pha- "nuel (*r*):" Nor, is this a ſolitary inſtance, in *holy writ*: "Now, *Anna* ſate in the way "looking for her ſon," [Tobias.] (*s*). But, he will, no doubt, object to *the Bible*, as too figurative, and poetical, for *plain proſe*. I will, therefore, offer a book of very plain proſe, *Cooper's Theſaurus*, 1573, which Shakſpeare may have ſeen: "*Anna*, a name of "*Hebrue*, which ſignifieth *gracious*: *Anna*, "alſo the name of a Goddeſſe, the daughter "of Belus, and ſiſter of *Dido*, *Queene of Car-* "*thage*." Whatever the public accuſer may think of this book, I will cloſe my proofs with an authority, which, he, of all objectors, will not diſpute:

"Thou art to me as ſecret, and as dear,
"As *Anna* to the Queen of Carthage was (*t*).

He,

(*q*) Inquiry, 145.

(*r*) Luke, ch. ii. v. 36. (*s*) Tobit, ch. xi. v. 5.

(*t*) Mal. Shakſpeare, 1790, vol. iii. p. 263, *The Taming of the Shrew*. And ſee the *Contemplations* of Biſhop Hall, who

He, however, thinks it very abſurd in Shakſpeare, to change the ſpelling of his ſweetheart's name, from *Hathaway* to *Hatherreweye*. But, is this more abſurd, than for Lady Shrewſbury to alter the name of her (*u*) huſband; or, for Shakſpeare to vary the ſpelling of his own name, in the moſt ſolemn act of his life (*v*)? The fact is, there was, in

who was born in 1574, ten years after Shakſpeare: "But, "*Anna* ſhall find her huſband's affection in her portion." [Proſe Works, 998-9-1000.] A writer in the Gentleman's Mag. for May 1796, p. 364, has met with one *ſolitary* inſtance of *Anna*, in the pariſh-regiſter of St. Botolph's, Biſhopgate, an. 1613. He would have met with a thouſand inſtances in the prerogative office.

(*u*) Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. ii. p. 168-9: She addreſſed her letter "To my lorde my huſbande, the Erle of "Shroweſbury:" She ſubſcribed her letter: "Your faythe-"full wyffe, E. Shroweſbury." The *Erle* her *huſbande* appears to have been uniform in writing his name *Shrewſbury*.

(*v*) The firſt brief of Shakſpeare's will is ſigned Shack*ſpere*; the laſt, Shak*ſpeare*: His deed is ſigned Shakſpeare. In Fenn's Letters, vol. iv. p. 166-7, may be ſeen *Boreſper* for *Boarſpeare*. In the *Vocabula Stanbrigij*, imprinted by Abraham Wele, without the year, but probably, in the reign of Hen. 8, may be found together "*a ſpere-ſtaffe*; "*a ſpeare*." In Norden's Surveyor's Dialogue, 1607, p. 206, he has *ſpeare*. In Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 518—20—23, may be ſeen the monumental inſcriptions of the Shakſpeare family, which give *three varieties*: Shak*ſpere*,

in thoſe times, no fixed attention to the uniform ſpelling of names: Barnaby Rych, gentleman, who had an office at court, in the dedication of his *Short Survey of Ireland* to the Earl of Saliſbury, in 1609, calls him the Earle of *Sariſbury*, Lord High Treaſurer of England. The author gives his own name, *Rych*, in the title-page; *Riche*, at the end of the dedication: and, he calls himſelf *Rich*, when he publiſhed, in 1622, *The Iriſh* HUBBUB. Like the Engliſh *Hue-and-cry*, the Iriſh *Hubbub* was originally inſtituted for the wiſeſt purpoſes: But, before honeſt Barnaby Rych, Riche, or Rich, publiſhed his uſeful truths, in 1622, *the Hubbub* had degenerated, like *modern Inquiries*, into the raiſing of loud outcries, on ſlight pretences.

But, the public accuſer is determined neither "to tire our patience, nor miſlead our ſenſe." He merely *heſitates diſlike* to the firſt two words of Shakſpeare's epiſtle; to *deareſt*, as a

Shake*ſpeare*, and Shak*ſpeare*. In Fuller's Worthies, p. 126, there are two varieties: Shake*ſpeare*; and Shake*ſpear*: And ſee the ſame book, ch. xvii. p. 51: "Of the often "altering of ſirnames, and the various writing thereof:"—"Thus, I am informed," ſays Fuller, "that the honourable "name of *Villiers* is written *fourteen ſeveral ways*, in their "*own evidences*."

word

word (*w*) *uncommon*; and to *themſelves*, "ſpelt "as one word, inſtead of two (*x*)." From verbal criticiſm, he comes, at length, to ſerious things: The public character of Queen Elizabeth; the general loyalty of her lengthened reign; and his own opinions of French politics (*y*). I will not contend with him

(*w*) In confutation of this, I have already quoted Howard's Col. p. 521: I will now add The Hiſtory of Hawſted, p. 153, for a letter, in 1595, from Rebecca Pake; beginning "*Deare* mother." And Eſſex began his letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated the 17th Auguſt 1597, "Moſt "*dear* lady." [Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 358.] To all theſe, I will ſubjoin from *The Enemy of Idleneſs*, 1621, "newly publiſhed and augmented," p. 232, what "A "lover writeth unto his lady: To expreſſe unto thee (my "*deere*) the inward griefes, the ſecret ſorrowes, the pinching "paines, that my poore oppreſſed heart pittifully indureth, "my pen is altogether unable." It is to be remarked, that this "Enemy of Idleneſſe," was ſet forth with the laudable deſign of "teaching a perfect platforme how to indite epiſtles "of all ſortes." This, then, is deciſive upon the point; being doubtleſs the very precedent from which Shakſpeare copied his love epiſtle to Anna Hatherrewaye.

(*x*) In reprobation of this, I have formerly quoted Henry 7th's inſtructions to his agents, and their anſwers. See before, p. 102. I will here only add, that there is in the paper-office, Scots Correſpond. N° 9, fol. 573, a letter from Lord Hunſdon, dated the 15th of Auguſt, 1569, to Lord Burghley, in which, *himſelfe* is written, as *one word*; *themſelves* is written, as *one word*; and *myſelf* is written, as one word.

(*y*) Inquiry, 148 to 154.

about what is inapplicable to the ſubject.

But, if the public accuſer, to get at the boyiſh pertneſs of a riſing poet, on the ſcore of *loyalty*, and *liberty*, mean to ſay, or inſinuate, that there was no *free* ſpeaking, no *free* writing, and no *free* acting, in that reign, I will again join iſſue with him. Need I quote the black-letter ſermons of the puritans, which ſwarmed from the preſs, during that age (*z*). Elizabeth had hardly been ſeated on her throne, when ſhe was ſaluted with "The firſt blaſt of the Trumpet againſt "the monſtrous regiment of women (*a*)." Buchanan ſoon after publiſhed his *De jure*, with the countenance of Burleigh, for a ſpecial purpoſe; though it contained the ſeed-plot of the French principles of the preſent

(*z*) See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 629: vol. iii. p. 572-3: And ſee, vol. i, a proclamation againſt *traiterous books*; and p. 575, a proclamation, commanding the loyalty of ſubjects, and the diſcovery of the ſeditious.

(*a*) Printed in 1558: The author wonders, "that none "of the pregnant wittes of the Iſle of Great Brittany ſhould "not admoniſh the inhabitants how abominable before God "is the rule of a wicked woman; yea, of a *traitreſſe*, and "a *baſtard*." What is Shakſpeare's *bawble* to this *free* writing of Knox!

day.

day. Parſons, by the name of Doleman, publiſhed, in 1594, "A Conference about the "next ſucceſſion to the Crown of (*b*) Eng-"land," with a dedication to the Earl of Eſſex, though it contained very *free* writing.—It is a fact, ſufficiently known, that the two favourites of Elizabeth, Leiceſter, and Eſſex, countenanced, for their private ends, the ſeditious practices "of that ungracious crew, "which faines demureſt grace." Very different was the conduct of that mirrour of chivalry, Sir Philip Sydney, who, when the dedication of *The School of Abuſe* was offered him, rejected it with ſcorn (*c*). It was the *free* conduct of our dramatiſts, when Shakſpeare was yet unknown to fame, that rouſed the attention of Elizabeth's miniſters; and

(*b*) On my copy of this very rare book, there is the following manuſcript note: "This book was condemned by "parliament, an. 35 Eliz. when it was enacted, that who-"ever ſhould have it in his houſe ſhould be guilty of high "treaſon. The printer was hanged, drawn, and quar-"tered."

(*c*) This curious anecdote is mentioned by Spenſer, in his *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 54. I repeat it with pleaſure; becauſe it adds another wreath to the chaplet on Sydney's brow.

required

required then, what has ſince been (*d*) called, a *licenſing act*. It was to this remarkable circumſtance, which occurred, while our poet was whetting his pen, that we probably owe much of the *correctneſs* of Shakſpeare's dramas. Such are the facts, which exhibit a very different ſtate of the *free principles*, and *free practices* of that reign, from the wild repreſentations of the public accuſer, who, in grouping his picture, has thrown a thouſand ſhades about the truth.

The public accuſer, however, brings Shakſpeare's *bawble*; the *fools bawble*, into vivid light. Yet, does he doubt, whether the word

(*d*) The Lords of the privy council wrote the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the 12th of November 1589:—"That "whereas there hath grown ſome inconvenience by comon "playes and enterludes in and about the cyttie of London; "in [as much as] the players take uppon [them] to handle "in their plaies certen matters of *divinytie*, and of *ſtate* un-"fitt to be ſuffered; for redreſſe whereof their lordſhips "have thought good to appointe ſome perſons of judgment "and underſtanding to viewe and examine their playes be-"fore they be pmitted to pſent them publickly," &c. &c. Similar letters were at the ſame time written to the Lord Mayor of London, and, to the Maſter of the Revels; to co-operate in this neceſſary meaſure. [Council-regiſter, 12 November 1589.] This curious, and important fact is, alone, ſufficient to overthrow the whole reaſoning of Mr. Malone, about the *free writing* of Shakſpeare's epiſtles.

bawble

bawble had obtained, so early as the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the signification of any slight toy, gewgaw, or trifling piece of finery. Why doubts he, with the authority in his hand? I will show, without much research, that the word *bawble* was used, in its present sense, before Shakspeare was born. When the author of "A Schole of wise Conceytes," offered his work to the printer, in 1569, he objected, that the book contained nothing but what was in *Esope*, which "already englisht is." The author admits the publication of *Esope*, but answers; "comparing that with myne, "it is as neare, as easte to west; and drosse "to silver fine." The printer now compares the *Wise Conceytes* (*e*) with *Esope Englisht*, and at length finds therein, contrary to his first thoughts of it;—

"Besides uncomely tales,
"And falsly forged fables,
"Wherewith his book repleniſht is,
"Perceyve I many *bables*."

If this proof be not deemed satisfactory, I will produce an evidence, who shall speak decisively. Spenser knew the English language, the English language of his fathers: Now, he

(*e*) Written by Thomas Blage, student of Queen's Col. Cambridge; and printed by Binneman, in 1569. This is a rare, elegant, and instructive, book of fables.

says,

ſays, merrily, when commending virtue, fame, and wealth :—

" Meere *gewegawes*, and *bables* in compariſon of theſe.
" Toyes to mock apes, and woodcockes, in compariſon of theſe.
" Jugling caſtes, and *knicknackes*, in compariſon of theſe (*f*)."

And, in this obvious ſenſe, Shakſpeare ſpeaks, in *Troilus and Creſſida*, of " ſhallow *bawble* " boats;" and in *Cymbeline*, of a letter, as " a " ſenſeleſs *bawble*." But, our poet talks of *bawble* in a more appropriate meaning; of *bawble*, as " *the fool's truncheon* of office." The commentators, in explaining the nature of the office, and the utility of the thing, have beſtowed all the cream of their learning. The public accuſer, in elucidating the " original " barbarous term *baubelium*," has ſerved up only the ſkimmilk of his knowledge. Hiſtorians, by repeating, inaccurately, the irreverent expreſſion of Cromwell, for the ſpeaker's mace, have brought the word, and the thing,

(*f*) The Three Proper Letters, 1580, p. 34. Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuſes*, 1583, Sig^r M 2, ſpeaks thus of " My " Lord of Miſrule's *cognizances*:" They have alſo certain papers, wherein is " painted ſome *babblerie*, or other, of ima- " gery work; and theſe they call my Lord of Miſrule's " badges: Theſe they give to every one, that will give mo- " ney for them, to maintaine them in their heathenrie, diuel- " rie, whordom, drunkenes, pride, and what not."

more

more frequently before the reader's eye. It were worthy the diligence, and acumen of our critic to ſhow, from whence Cromwell derived his knowledge of *the fool's bawble*. It was from Cambridge, that Cromwell had his knowledge, and uſe, of the expreſſion: For, performing, there, the part of *Tactus* in Brewer's *Lingua*; or the *Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senſes*; Cromwell bore a part in the following ſcene, which will, probably, bring many reflections into the reader's mind (*g*).

" [Tactus ſtumbleth at the *Robe* and *Crown*:—]
" Tactus:—High thoughts have ſlipp'ry feet; I had well
" nigh fall'n.
" Mendacio:—Well doth he fall, that riſeth with a fall.
" Tactus:—What's this?
" Mendacio:—O, are you taken! Its in vain to ſtrive—
" Tactus:—How now?
" Mendacio:—You'll be ſo entangled ſtraight—
" Tactus:—A *crown!*
" Mendacio:—That it will be hard—
" Tactus:—And a *robe!*
" Mendacio:—To looſe yourſelf.
" Tactus:—A crown; and a robe!
" Mendacio:—It had been fitter for you, to have found
a *fools-coat*, and a *bawble*; hey, hey!"

I have now proved my point, that the word *bawble* was in uſe, in its preſent ſenſe, before Shakſpeare was born; and have, incidentally,

(*g*) See Dodſley's Old Plays, vol. v. p. 116-128.

ſhown

ſhown the inutility of diſquiſion, and the impertinence of learning, when a *fact* can be aſcertained by proof.

But, the public accuſer is determined to fail no more. He thinks it a ſtrong objection to the letter, that Shakſpeare borrowed his ſentiment of *charity* from himſelf. Upon other (*h*) occaſions, our critic finds it a commodious method of illuſtration, to ſhow the ſimilarity of the poet's thoughts, and language, on different ſubjects. Yet, he reſolves to cut down the *talle cedarre* of Shakſpeare by the *fact*, "that there were no *cedars* in England till "after the Reſtoration (*i*)." "Where," then, he *pertinently* aſks "could this image "have been preſented to our Stratford "youth?" He immediately ſubjoins, "in "the Bible," or perhaps, "in ſome natural "hiſtory that will ſhortly be *brought for-*"*ward*." Now, mark the potent efficacy of a plain tale againſt "the bookfull ſcholar, with "loads of learned lumber in his head." Willye ſays to Anna: "I cheryſhe thee in mye une "hearte forre thou arte ass a talle cedarre

(*h*) See Mr. Malone's comments on Shakſpeare's Sonnets, in his Supp. vol. i.

(*i*) Inquiry, 162.

"ſtretchynge

" ſtretchynge forthe its branches ande ſuc-
" courynge the ſmallere plants fromme nyp-
" pynge winneterre orr the boyſterouſe
" wyndes." Shakſpeare makes the king-de-throning Warwick ſay, when dying in the field, as the ſpelling has been modernized by the commentators (*k*):

" Thus, yields *the* CEDAR to the axe's edge,
" Whoſe arms gave ſhelter to the princely eagle;
" Under whoſe ſhade, the ramping lion ſlept;
" Whoſe top-branch overpeer'd Jove's ſpreading tree,
" And *kept low ſhrubs from winter's powerful wind* (*l*)."

(*k*) Mal. Shak. vol. vi. p. 373.

(*l*) In Henry 8th, Cranmer prophecies:

" He ſhall flouriſh, and like a
" Mountain *cedar*, reach his branches
" To all the plains about him."

[See Mal. Shak. vol. vii. p. 139.] When the *Geſta Gayorum* were exhibited at court, on Shrove Tueſday, 1594, " The " Impreſſes which the maſkers uſed upon their eſcutcheons; " for their *devices*, were: H. Helmes, Prince: In a *bark* of a " CEDAR TREE, the character E engraven: *Creſcetis.*" If there were no *cedarre trees* in England, at Shrove-tyde, in 1594, the prince of the maſkers muſt, no doubt, have imported from other lands, the *bark* of the *cedar tree*, for the purpoſe of his *device*. In *The Phœnix Neſt*, 1593, p. 2. we have the following lines:—

" And that which was of woonder moſt,
" The phœnix left ſweete Arabie:
" And on a *cædar* in *this* coaſt,
" Built up her tombe of ſpicerie."

The

The fact, then, precludes the inquiry, whether the *cedarre* were introduced into England before, or after, the Reſtoration; the *fact* anſwers the queſtion, whether Shakſpeare were gardener enough to know, what every nurſery-man can tell, the benefit of ſhelter; how comfortably the *cedar*, "whoſe top-"branch over-peer'd Jove's ſpreading tree, "kept low ſhrubs from winter's powerful "wind." If it be true, that Shakſpeare *exhauſted words, and then imagined new*, is it not equally true, that "ſelf-glorious pride" ought neither to fatigue patience, nor excite ridicule, by minute inquiries, whether *the maker* derived his *images* from what exiſted in Britain, or on *the great globe itſelf*. The abſence of the *cedarre tree* from Britain did not preclude ſatire, it ſeems, from ſaying, what *ſelf-glorious pride* may repeat;

"I know my ruder hands begin to quake,
"To think what lofty CEDARS I muſt ſhake (*m*)."

The public accuſer will, however, no more incur either the danger of ridicule, or the rebuff of confutation. He, at length, draws our attention (*n*) to the love-verſes of *the liſping poet* "to the ſweet nymph of Avon "fayre." Yet, he ſtops his critical career, by inquiring, whether this be a love-ſonnet, or

(*m*) Marſton's Satires, 1599, N. iii. (*n*) Inquiry, 163.

the

the poſy of a (*o*) ring? Neither; Spenſer will anſwer: It is "*Willye's Embleme:*—

"To be wize, and eke to loue,
"Is graunted ſcarce to God above (*p*)."

The public accuſer ſickens at the ſound: No more of this (*q*) *Namby-Pamby-ſtuff*, he cries,—

"———— in ſonorous ſtrain,
"Walls, ſteeples, ſkies, bray back to him again."

Yet, he reſolves to draw our attention to the rhythm of the firſt line; taking care to *create the fault*, which Shakſpeare never committed, by lengthening *heav-enne*, with a *diaſtolic* hyphen. The critic appeals to the deciſion of Spenſer: "Heaven being uſed ſhort "as one ſyllable, when it is in verſe ſtretched "[out] with a *diaſtole* is like a lame dog that "holdeth up one leg (*r*)." I bow to the deciſion, and reverence the ſenſe, of Spenſer. A poet, who, contrary to *ordinarie* uſe, which

(*o*) Inquiry, 164.

(*p*) See Spenſer's *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 38.

(*q*) Inquiry, 164: "I ſhall not therefore ſicken your "lordſhip with any more of this namby-pamby-ſtuff."

(*r*) Spenſer certainly ſays this, but with more accuracy of language, orthography, and pointing, in his *Three Letters*, 1580, p. 6; but, in p. 54, Spenſer treats "this imaginary "*diaſtole* as nothing worth."

Spenſer calls the *ſovereign rule*, will lengthen a *monoſyllable*, certainly merits reprobation: But, what does the critic deſerve, who, contrary to the purpoſe of the poet, will ſtretch out the verſe by a *diaſtole*? As *a lame dog*, he merits no *help over the ſtile*.

Let us, however, attend to the context of Spenſer, where he gives his final judgment upon the point (*s*). "Now for your *heaven*, "ſeaven, eleaven, or the like; I am likewiſe "of the ſame opinion: as generally in all "words elſe: we are not to go a little farther, "either for the *proſody*, or the *orthography*, "(and therefore your imaginarye *diaſtole* no-"thing worthe) than we are authoriſed by "the *ordinarie uſe*, and *cuſtom*, and proprietie, "and *idiome*, and, as it were, *majeſtie* of our "*ſpeech*; which I account the only infallible "and ſovereign rule of all rules: and there-"fore, having reſpect thereunto, and reputing "it petty treaſon to revolt therefrom: dare "hardly eyther in the *proſodie*, or in the *or-"thography* either, allow them two ſillables "inſteade of one, but would as well in writ-"ing, as in ſpeaking, have them uſed as "monoſyllables, thus: *heavn*, *ſeavn*, *aleavn*; "as *Maiſter* Afcham in his *Toxophilus* doth

(*s*) Ib. p. 54.

"*yrne*,

" *yrne*, commonly written *Yron*." — Thus much for the final decision of Spenser, against the public accuser. As I am now, probably, to take my leave of his *Three Proper Letters*, I will adopt what Pope applies to Boileau, on the same occasion;

" And, Spenser still, in right of Horace, sways (*t*)."

In our poet's genuine compositions, says Mr. Malone, we never find any such *hobling metre* (*u*). You may find a thousand such *hobling metres*, if you will stretch out the verse by a *diastolic* hyphen. Let us take an example from Shakspeare's sonnets:

" O how I faint, when I of you do write;
" Knowing a better spir-it doth use your name."

Spirit, says Mr. Malone, in his note, is here, as in many other places, used as a *monosyllable* (*v*). In the same manner, I say, that *heavenne* in the first stanza of Shakspeare's verses to Anna Hatherrewaye ought to be read as a *monosyllable*, if *ordinarie use* be the *sovereign rule*; and if Shakspeare himself hath

(*t*) Spenser quotes Horace's *Ars Poetica*, in p. 44.

(*u*) Inquiry. 164.

(*v*) Sup. vol. i. p. 645.—Sir John Davis, in his *Nosce Teipsum*, 1599, p. 6-12-22, hath very often *spirit* [sprite] as a monosyllable: So has he *subtil* as a monosyllable, *subtle*. See before, page 46.

uſed *heaven*, *monoſyllabically*, a thouſand times; then muſt the criticiſm of the public accuſer be,

" As falſe, by *heaven*, as *heaven* itſelf is true.

But, with Shakſpeare's epiſtles, in proſe, and rhyme, I have now done. I will here ſubmit to the equity of this court this *Apology* for the *believers*, in reſpect to both. On this occaſion, it will eaſily be recollected, that the *general argument* concluded moſt favourably for the believers, " if there be *truth* in *ſight*." On the other hand, the public accuſer undertook, by particular inveſtigations, to overthrow the ſtrong preſumption, ariſing from general reaſonings. The poet, who early wrote " A " Lover's Complaint;" who was in habits of inditing verſes of *Venus* and (*w*) *Adonis*; is conſidered, by the public accuſer, as a very unlikely perſon to write love-epiſtles to *the Warwickſhire laſs*, whom he loved. I have examined, and I truſt, confuted his objections. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing the *letter*, and *verſes* of Shakſpeare, in *ſuſpicious company*, I will acknowledge, on behalf of the believers, that in future,

" We muſt ſtarve our ſight from lover's food."

(*w*) See Malone's Sup^t. vol. i. p. 403—739.

— § V. —

SHAKSPEARE'S PROFESSION OF FAITH.

Of this monument of Shakſpeare's piety, the public accuſer profeſſes to "have very "little to (*a*) ſay;" judging, wiſely, as he is in the habit of retraction, that *the leaſt ſaid is ſooneſt mended.* Yet, he urges, though with leſs force, the *ſame objections,* which he had made to former documents: "The ortho- "graphy; the language and phraſeology; "the diſſimilitude of the *hand-writing*;" which, having been already conſidered, and confuted, need not be conſidered again, at more length, nor confuted, under this head of the inquiry, by new facts.

But, the public accuſer recurs, nevertheleſs, to his old logic, ſuppoſing what he ought to prove, and arguing againſt experience, though ſuch logic be contrary to all the rules of reaſoning, which have been laid down, by every logician, from Wilſon to Watts. In the ſame ſtrain, he (*b*) objects, that though John Shakſpeare made a confeſſion of faith, in the reign of Elizabeth, it is improbable, William Shakſpeare ſhould make a profeſſion of his faith,

(*a*) Inquiry, 196. (*b*) Inquiry, 197-8.

in the reign of King James. He had himſelf produced to the public, in 1790, the confeſſion of John Shakſpeare, which was found in the *hiding-hole* of the houſe of Shakſpeare. From the ſentiment, and the language, this confeſſion appears to be the effuſion of a Roman Catholic mind, and was probably drawn up by ſome Roman Catholic prieſt (*c*). If theſe premiſes be granted, it will follow, as a fair deduction, that the family of Shakſpeare were Roman Catholics; a circumſtance this, which is wholly conſiſtent with what Mr. Malone is now ſtudious to (*d*) inculcate, viz. "that this confeſſion could not have "been the compoſition of any of our poet's "family." The thoughts, the language, the orthography, all demonſtrate the truth of my conjecture, though Mr. Malone did not per-

(*c*) As a ſpecimen, let us take the beginning of this Declaration of faith, from Mal. Shak. vol. i. pt. 2. p. 330:— "In the name of God, the father, ſonne, and holy ghoſt, the "moſt holy and bleſſed Virgin Mary, mother of God, the "holy hoſt of angels, patriarchs, prophets, Evangeliſts, "Apoſtles, Saints, Martyrs, and all the Celeſtial Court and "Company of heaven, I, *John Shakſpeare*, an unworthy "member of the *holy Catholick Religion*, being," &c. and ſee ſtill ſtronger terms in the concluſion of this proteſtation, *confeſſion*, and charter, in p. 162-6.

(*d*) Inquiry, 198.

ceive

ceive this truth, when he firſt publiſhed this paper, in 1790. But, it was the performance of a *Clerke*, the undoubted work of the family prieſt. The conjecture, that Shakſpeare's family were Roman Catholics, is ſtrengthened by the fact, that his father declined to attend the corporation meetings, and was, at laſt, removed, from the corporate body (*e*). Yet, the public accuſer (*f*) infers, "that it is ex-"tremely improbable that *all* the Shakſpeare "family ſhould be *confeſſors* of their faith." Every other logician would infer, that if it had been the cuſtom of the family, which was followed by the father, it is extremely probable, the ſame cuſtom would be alſo followed by the ſon, who, at times, cannot conceal *his faith*, even in his dramas (*g*).

This

(*e*) The place too, the roof of the houſe, where this confeſſion was found, proves, that it had been therein concealed, during times of perſecution, for the "holy Catholick "religion."

(*f*) Inquiry, 199.

(*g*) In the famous ſcene between the Ghoſt, and Hamlet, there are many ſtrokes of a Roman Catholic pen. Shakſpeare, apparently, through *ignorance*, ſays WARBURTON, makes *Roman Catholics* of theſe Pagan Danes: [Steevens's Shak. 1793. vol. xv. p. 72-5.] But, this is not ſo much an example of *ignorance*, as of *knowledge*, though perhaps not of

This reaſoning is confirmed, by the conſideration, that the reign of Elizabeth was a period of apparent (*h*) piety, and the reign of Jamas 1ſt, an age of religious ſpeculation. To avow particular modes of faith became extremely faſhionable, during both thoſe periods. It was, probably, by this faſhion, that Lord Bacon, the prince of philoſophers, was induced to draw up his *confeſſion of* (*i*) *faith*;

his prudence, when the poet avows, covertly, indeed, his *own opinions*. In Othello, Shakſpeare makes Æmilia ſay: "I "ſhould venture *purgatory* for't." The readers of Shakſpeare will eaſily remember other expreſſions of a ſimilar kind, which plainly proceeded from the overflow of Roman Catholic zeal. He is continually ſending his characters to *ſhrift*, or confeſſion: "Riddling *confeſſion* finds but riddling "*ſhrift*." "Bid her deviſe ſome means to come to *ſhrift* "this afternoon." On the other hand, he is ſtudious to ſhow his contempt for *the Puritans*. In *Twelfth Night*; "Marry, Sir, he ſeems ſometimes a kind of Puritan:" In *Winter's Tale*; "But, one Puritan among them, and he "ſings Pſalms to hornpipes." The *religion* of our great dramatiſt, will, no doubt, fill a whole chapter of the *folio life* of Shakſpeare, which will be, *certainly*, written, without *ſcoffs* at the opinions of other biographers.

(*h*) See Lord Burghley's *Profeſſion* of *Faith*, in Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 334: And, Archbiſhop Parker's Profeſſion of Faith, may be ſeen in Strype's Life of that Prelate, p. 500.

(*i*) Bacon's Remains, Ed. 1648, p. 94.

in order to pleaſe a monarch, who intereſted himſelf in religious theories. Bacon's *confeſſion*, I preſume, the public accuſer will denominate a "myſtical rhapſody;" without much conſideration perhaps of the real meaning of the term, *myſtical*, or much inquiry into the proper ſignification of the word rhapſody (*k*).

But, he has yet a ſtronger objection to Shakſpeare's rhapſody, whether it be myſtical, or literal. In order to convict it of fiction, the public accuſer is ſtudious to prove, "that it "has been evidently formed on holy writ(*l*)." Whether he learned this mode of reaſoning from Crakanthorp, Wallis, or Aldrich, may require ſome explanation (*m*). Every Chriſtian rhetorician would reaſonably infer, that a confeſſion of faith, which has been formed on holy writ, is probably genuine in its declaration, and true in its doctrine.

The public accuſer is, nevertheleſs, determined to overthrow general reaſoning, by ſpe-

(*k*) Queen Elizabeth's *Prayer*, for the ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Cadiz, in 1596, which was ſent by Mr. Secretary Cecil to Eſſex, may be ſeen in Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 18. This, I preſume, will alſo be called a *myſtical rhapſody*.

(*l*) Inquiry, 200. (*m*) See the Inquiry, 196.

cial

cial inveſtigation. He repeats an objection, which had been already made by others, to the epithet *leſſee*, as applied to a tree, when trees are denuded of their foliage: But, there are, in Shakſpeare, as great wonders as "this "unfortunate epithet." The Queen exclaims, in Richard 3d:—

"Why grow the branches, when the root is gone?
"Why wither not the leaves, that want their ſap?"

In this ſtrain of minute criticiſm, he (*n*) inquires, "whence the abſurd introduction "of a *chicken* for the *mother-bird*." Whence, but from the creative faculties of the poet's mind? What is a poet, if you deprive him of his *fictions*, and his *fancies?* Why does Shakſpeare, in *Timon of Athens*, make the *Fool* anſwer the friends of *Timon*, though they were, probably, *parental birds:* "She's e'en "ſetting on water to ſcald ſuch *chickens* as "you are."

But, the public accuſer conceives it a waſte of time to detain his noble correſpondent any longer, when he has (*o*) added, "that the "word *hymſelfe* is exhibited as *one word*, and "the word *acceded* is found in it." Had he taken the trouble to look into *Cooper's Theſaurus*, 1573, he would have ſeen the word

(*n*) Inquiry, 201. (*o*) Inquiry, 202.

hymſelfe

hymſelfe printed, as one word, a thouſand times; as I have already ſhown the word *theymſelfe* was written, before Shakſpeare was born (*p*). Thus, "he draweth out the thread "of his verboſity finer than the ſtaple of his "argument."

Yet, in this ſpirit of minuteneſs, the public accuſer perſeveres, in ſpinning many a thread of ſimilar fineneſs. And, he inſiſts, that the *nonexiſtence* of the word *accede* in the Engliſh language, for *a century after the death of Shakſpeare, in* 1616, is *deciſive,* in proving the ſpurioufneſs of *Shakſpeare's Confeſſion* (*q*). Happy! had his proof been equal to his poſitiveneſs. The diplomatic word *accede* is ſo recent, he ſays, that Johnſon gives no example of its uſe. As lexicographers ſome-

(*p*) In Sir John Davis's *Noſce Teipſum*, 1599, p. 27, may be often ſeen *himſelfe*, printed, and written, as *one word:*

"Which *himſelfe* makes, in bodies formed new.
"Which *himſelfe* makes of no *material* thing."

Here, the rhythm forbids the disjunction of him-ſelfe, and requires the accent on the firſt ſyllable; ſo as to give a brevity of pronunciation to the *word. Hymſelfe* may be ſeen often printed by Wynken de Worde, as one word, in the *Fruytfull Sayenges of Dauyd*, 1529: So is *themſelfe* printed in it, as one word, for *themſelves:*—"Suche as gyve *themſelfe* to wordly "voluptyes may well faye." And ſee *himſelfe* printed, as one word, in Lyly's *Euphues*, 1581, p. 20[b]. and 53[b]. &c.

(*q*) Inquiry, 202—4.

times

times quote one another, he might have cited De Foe's Dictionary, 1735. Kerſey has not this uncommon word, it ſeems, in his Dictionary, 1708, after all the ſpeaking, and writing, about treaties, in preceding times. Nor, is it in Coles, nor Phillips; in Bullokar, nor Barret; in Blount, nor Minſheu. He cannot aſcertain the epoch of its introduction; yet, is he (*r*) poſitive, that the word was unknown to our language for near a century, after the uſe of it in Shakſpeare's *Confeſſion*. On the other hand, it muſt be admitted, that the word *accede* has been long in our language: and, the only queſtion is, when did it come into uſe? He ſuppoſes, indeed, what cannot be allowed, becauſe it is inconſiſtent with truth, that our dictionaries contain every word, in the vaſt volume of our learning, whether *white-letter*, or *black-letter*. Johnſon's Dictionary is, like every other dictionary, a mere ſelection; nor does any preceding word-book contain a more copious collection than his: Yet, the public accuſer inſiſts that, becauſe he cannot find a word, on the "blaſted heath" of our lexicography; it, therefore, does not exiſt in our libraries, either in print, or in manuſcript. But, in the vo-

(*r*) Inquiry, 204.

cabulary

cabulary of Mr. Malone *a ſelection* means a *collection:* And, in his logical dictionary, failure of proof ſtands for fulneſs of probation; whence *ſomething*, contrary to the ſyſtem of nature, may be deduced from *nothing*. Very different, indeed, is the poetical reaſoning of Davis :—

" Of *nought*, no *creature* ever formed *ought:*
" For, *that* is proper to the *Almightie*'s hand (*s*)."

The *almightie* critic's inanity of reaſoning, I will oppoſe with *facts*. It is remarkable, ſays he, " that Edward Philips, [Phillips] " Milton's nephew, who was a *good ſcholar*, " has not the word [accede] in his dictionary, " though he has the kindred word *concede*; " and, what ſhews deciſively," he adds, " that " the word [accede] did not exiſt, when he " publiſhed his book, (1659) is, he explains " the two law writs *Accedas* ad curiam, and " *Accedas* ad vice-comitam (*t*)." Let us illuſtrate

(*s*) *Noſce Teipſum.*

(*t*) Inquiry, 202-3. For an account of Edward *Phillips*, as he ſpelt his own name, ſee Wood's Ath. vol. ii. c. 1116. Blount, the author of the Law Dictionary, 1670, complains of the *plagiariſm* of Phillips; and Skinner, who wrote the *Etymologicon*, accuſes him of *ignorance*. Now, the fact is, that theſe two *law-writs* were not in Phillips's *firſt* edition, 1658: But, they were inſerted in his *ſecond* edition,

luſtrate this reaſoning, by the example of the two kindred words; *acceſs*, and *acceſſible*: Naunton, in writing to Eſſex, from Paris, in 1597, tells him "that no man ſhall have "*acceſs* to the King," [Henry 4th]: But, writing ſoon after, Naunton informs Eſſex, "that the King is grown more *acceſſible* (*u*)." Barret has, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, the word *acceſſe*; but not *acceſſible*; Minſheu has the word *acceſſe*, in his *Guide into the tongues*, 1617; but not *acceſſible* (*v*). Now, were the inquiry, whether the word *acceſſible* exiſted at that period, in the Engliſh language, the anſwer muſt be, according to Mr. Malone's logic, that *acceſſible* did not exiſt, in the age of Shakſpeare: But, the *fact*, thus

edition, which gave riſe probably to Blount's complaint. The *third* edition was publiſhed, in 1671. Had there been a queſtion, in 1658, whether thoſe two *law writs* exiſted then, in the language of our law, it would have been a deciſive argument, according to Mr. Malone's reaſoning, to inſiſt, that they had no exiſtence, in our law; becauſe they were not to be found in Phillips's *World of Words*, in 1658. This *title* was plainly taken from Florio: What Phillips ſtole from Blount, I pretend not to know.

(*u*) See Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 71—83, for the curious letters from Sir Robert Naunton to the Earl of Eſſex, of which Queen Elizabeth thought highly.

(*v*) Minſheu inſerted *acceſſible* in his *ſecond* edition, 1627.

ſtrongly

ſtrongly oppoſed, from *the uſe* of the word by Naunton, in 1597, overpowers the argument of the public accuſer.

In this correſpondence, between Naunton, and Eſſex, may be ſeen a variety of phraſes, which, as they are not to be found in *word-books*, eſtabliſh the poſition, that words may exiſt in our language, although they do not appear in our dictionaries. As the ſubject is curious for its information, and the deduction from it bears upon the INQUIRY; I will illuſtrate the argument, by giving a few examples from the erudite *Letters* of Naunton: Ingeminated; *tickle*-ſtate of things; *tickle*-piece of ſervice; *oſtentative* humour; *weary-ſomely* longed for; jejune *conjecturals*; *clear-lier* ſee; *refavourizing*; *diſconceit*; *palinodizing* in his reſolutions; new *ambience*; intermediation; *diſdenned* out of (*w*) Ronen; uncircumſpection; detrected; diſcorreſpondence: Such, among others, were the words, which were uſed by Naunton, when writing to Eſſex, for the ſight of Elizabeth; and which have not been adopted by our lexicographers. Lord Burghley has the fine word *expugnable*; which is not adopted by Johnſon, though he

(*w*) Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 68—72—73—94—83—89—90—93—95—97—266—303—449.

has

has *expugn*. Old Lady Bacon, the learned widow of the Lord Keeper, writing an expoſtulatory epiſtle to Lord Eſſex, on account of his gallantries with a married lady, in Elizabeth's court, complains of the frail fair one's "*unſhamefacedneſs*," of her, "*unwifelike*, " and unſhamefaced demeanor (*x*)." Lady Bacon is a great authority; for ſhe was one of the learned daughters of Anthony Coke; and her epiſtle exhibits ſcriptural reference, and both claſſical quotation, and alluſion. It would be a wearifome taſk, indeed, to compare the vaſt volume of Raleigh, and the innumerable writings of Bacon, with our dictionaries; in order to eſtabliſh more ſtrongly the poſition, that ten thouſand words exiſt in our language, which have not been collected into our vocabularies. A few words ſhall, however, be given from Petty's "*Advice* to " Hartlib for the *Advancement* of (*y*) *Learning*;"

(*x*) This curious letter, which is in Birch's Mem. vol. ii. p. 218, was written with ſuch force of argument, and energy of expreſſion, as to leave Eſſex no other anſwer, than to *deny the fact*; though the whole court had been witneſſes, of the *unſhamefacedneſs* of the Earl, and the *unwifelike* demeanor of the Lady.

(*y*) It was publiſhed in 1648; and ſee the words quoted, in p. 4—6—20.

as

as the conviction of examples will then be added to the reasonableness of my position: *Unpreoccupied* in children; *educands* to be taught by the *educators*; *Mæcenates* and patrons; *navarchy* and making ships; *lucriferous*; *luciferous* (z): If, then, the question were, whether those significant words existed, when that original genius, Petty, made use of them, the answer of our critical theorist must be, that they did not exist, in our language; because he cannot find them, in our dictionaries.

Johnson was probably the first of our lexicographers, who relished the beauties of Shakspeare's phraseology, and enriched his dictionary, by adopting its bullion: Yet, how much so ever he borrowed; it is astonishing how much he left behind; either unclaimed by choice, or unadopted by accident. If a VOCABULARY of the words, which sparkle in Shakspeare's dramas, and yet are not found to dignify Johnson's dictionary, were submitted to the reader's eye, it would surprise those, who have indulged themselves in supposing, that our whole language may be seen in our word-books; and would perhaps furnish

(z) Kersey has, indeed, *Luciferous*, in his word-book; yet, Johnson did not think fit to insert it in his dictionary.

cauſe of circumſpection to confidence, if it did not teach a leſſon of humility to arrogance. Such a VOCABULARY I have actually made; conſiſting of more than a thouſand words: It might have been enlarged, if it had been conſiſtent with my preſent purpoſe; but this VOCABULARY is ſufficiently copious, to ſhame ſophiſtry into ſilence (*a*).

I was

(*a*) I will here ſubjoin a ſhort ſpecimen of my VOCABULARY of words, which are in Shakſpeare's dramas, but not in Johnſon's dictionary; as it is curious from its novelty; and is a ſtriking example of the extreme fallibility of negative proofs, which abound ſo much in Mr. Malone's Inquiry:

A-hold: "Lay her ahold, ahold." [The Tempeſt.] To lay the ſhip *ahold* is to bring her to the wind. This word is not in Johnſon. [I conſtantly quote, or allude to, the 6th edition of the dictionary, in 1785, 4to.]

Airbraving: "Who in a moment, even with the earth "Shall lay your ſtately and *airbraving* towers." [Henry IV.]

Apebearer: "He hath been ſince an *apebearer*." [Winter's Tale.]

Arabian: "O! thou *Arabian* bird." [Anthony and Cleopatra.]

Archmock: "Oh! 'tis the ſpight of hell, the fiend's *Arch-*"*mock*." [Othello.]

Artsman: "*Artsman*, præambula; we will be ſingled from "the barbarous." [Love's Labour Loſt.] Johnſon has *artiſan*, and *artiſt*.

Aſſemblance: "Care I for the bulk and big *aſſemblance* of "a man."

I was led into this wide ſurvey of Johnſon's adoptions from Shakſpeare, which might have been

" a man." [Henry IV.] Johnſon has *aſſemblage*, from Locke; and from Thomſon: " In ſoft *aſſem-*
" *blage* liſten to my ſong."

Aſſinego: " An *Aſſinego* may tutor thee." [Troilus and Creſſida.]

Bacchus: " Love's power proves dainty *Bacchus* groſs in
" taſte." [Love's Labour Loſt.] " Plumpy *Bac-*
" *chus* with pink eyne." [Anthony and Cleopatra.] Johnſon has bacchanalian and bacchanals: He often quotes from Milton, and Pope, and even from the minor poets, what he might have ſeen in Shakſpeare; and thereby has done a ſlight wrong to our dramatiſt, to whom all ſubſequent poets have been much indebted.

Bemail'd: " How ſhe was *bemail'd*." [Taming of the Shrew.]

Bemete: " Or I ſhall ſo *bemete* thee with thy yard." [Id.]

Beſeek: " I *beſeek* you now; aggravate your choler." [Henry IV.] Johnſon has *beſeech*.

Bewhor'd: " My lord hath ſo bewhor'd her." [Othello.]

Boneache: " Incurable *boneache*." [Troilus and Creſſida.]

Buttſhaft: " Cupid's *buttſhaft* is too hard for Hercules's
" club." [Love's Labonr Loſt.]

Cacodemon: " Hie thee to hell, for ſhame; and leave this
" world, thou *Cacodemon*." [Richard III.]

Cankerbloſſom: " Oh me! you juggler; oh, you *canker-*
" *bloſſom*; you thief of love." [Midſummer Night's Dream.]

Cannakin: " And, let me have a cannakin clink." [Othello.]

been more numerous, without any impeachment of the lexicographer's judgment; in order

Codſhead: "To change the *codſhead* for the ſalmon's-
"tail." [Othello.]
Coſtermonger: "Virtue is ſo little regarded in theſe *coſ-*
"*termonger* times, that true valour is turn'd bear-
"heard." [Henry IV.]
Cuſtardcoffin: "Why; thou ſayſt true: It is a paultry
"cap, a *cuſtardcoffin*, a *bauble*, a ſilken pye."
[Taming of the Shrew.]
Deedachieving: "By *deedachieving* honour newly
"nam'd." [Coriolanus.]
Denotement: "Given up himſelf to the *denotement* of her
"parts and graces." [Othello.]
Directitude: "Durſt not ſhew themſelves his friends,
"whilſt he's in *directitude*." [Coriolanus.]
Diſpunge: "The poiſonous damp of night *diſpunge* upon
"me." [Anthony and Cleopatra.]
"*Dizzy-ey'd* fury." [Henry VI.]
Dotant: "Or with the palſy'd interceſſion of ſuch a de-
"cay'd *dotant* as you ſeem to be." [Coriolanus.]
Dovedrawn: "I met her deity, cutting the clouds to-
"wards Paphos, and her ſon *dovedrawn* with
"her." [Tempeſt.]
Eaningtime: "The ewes did, in *eaningtime*, fall party-
"coloured lambs." [Merchant of Venice.]
Eanlings: [Id.]
Earkiſſing: "They are yet, but *earkiſſing* arguments."
[Lear.]
"*Earpiercing* fife." [Othello.]
Earwax: "But, he hath not ſo much brain, as *earwax*."
[Troilus and Creſſida.]
"*Enfreedoming* thy perſon." [Love's Labour Loſt.]

Engilds:

der to enable every mind to judge of the inefficacy of *negative proofs*, for the eſtabliſhing of negative

Engilds: "Who, more *engilds* the night, than all yon fiery "o's and eyes of light." [Midſummer Night's Dream.]

Engoal'd: "Within my mouth, you have *engoal'd* my "tongue." [Troilus and Creſſida.]

Enlard: "That were to *enlard* his fat-already pride." [Troilus and Creſſida.]

Enſky'd: "I hold you as a thing *enſky'd* and ſainted." [Meaſure for Meaſure.]

Eſil (Eyſel): "Woo't drink up *eſil.*" [Hamlet.] *Eyſel*, ſays Mr. Steevens, is vinegar, which is a good preventive againſt infectious diſorders, ſays Mr. Malone.

Fairfac'd league. [King John.]

Fairplay: "According to the *fairplay* of the world." [Id.]

Fantaſticoes: "The pox on ſuch antick, liſping, affect-"ing fantaſticoes." [Romeo and Juliet.]

"*Flemiſh* drunkard." [Merry Wives of Windſor.] The following paſſage from "The Libell of Engliſh "Policie of keeping the ſea," which was written, in the reign of Henry VI. and was firſt printed in Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, vol. ii. p. 192, is at once a defence, and an illuſtration of Shakſpeare, by ſhowing the groſsneſs of the Flemings, in preceding times:

"Ye have heard that two Flemings togider,
"Will undertake, or they go any whither,
"Or they rise once to drink a firkin full
"Of good *beerekin*; ſo ſore they hall and pull;

negative inferences; to decide, whether ſomething can be deduced from nothing; and to

" Under the board, they piſſen, as they ſit;
" This cometh convenient of a worthie wit:
" Without CALAIS, in their butter they cakked,
" When they fled home, and when they leiſure lacked."

" *Foolſhott* (a) is ſoon ſhot." [Henry V.]

Foolſhead: "Did I deſerve no more than a *foolſhead*." [Merchant of Venice.]

Foolsparadiſe: "If you ſhould lead her into a *foolsparadiſe*." [Romeo and Juliet.]

Forehorſe: "I ſhall ſtay here the *forehorſe* to a ſmock." [All's Well.]

" *Foreweary'd* in this action of ſwift ſpeed." [King John.]

" *Foulſpoken* coward." [Titus Andronicus.] Johnſon has foulmouthed.

Free way: "I do beſeech you, let her will have a *free* " *way*." [Othello.]

Freſty ſpirited: "What a *freſty ſpirited* rogue is this." [Henry IV.]

" *Full acorn'd* boar." [Cymbeline.]

" *Furnace-burning* heart." [Henry VI.]

Here, will I cloſe this note, which is already too long. In the ſame manner, I could have gone through the whole alphabet, and very much enlarged the number of examples. But, having proved my point, by ſhowing the fallibility of negative proofs, I will knit up my *Vocabulary*, by avowing my ſincere admiration of Johnſon's invaluable work; whilſt I am ſhowing, by the inveſtigation of facts, that his dictionary is rather a *ſelection*, than a *collection* of the Engliſh language: And, as his plan did not thus allow him to adopt every word in Shakſpeare's dramas, it is inconſiſtent with his plan, and with the fact, to draw concluſions from his ſilence.

eſtimate,

eſtimate, whether *non-entities* ought to be deemed equal, in critical examination, to poſitive premiſes. But, of ſuch logic we have ſurely enough! I will acknowledge, however, that when a careful ſearch has been made, by an attentive eye, in the moſt voluminous of our dictionaries, a ſuſpicion will ariſe, that the word, which has been looked for, without ſucceſs, may, *poſſibly*, not exiſt in our language.

A perſon, who is accuſed of forgery, comes into court with every preſumption in his favour; with every probability of innocence, for his protection; with every inducement, under a want of proof, for his acquittal: But, the public accuſer, by ſuppoſing what he ought to prove; by finding *non-entities* in the barrenneſs of lexicography, he raiſes a ſuſpicion only, that the accuſed may *poſſibly* be guilty; and, "all proofs ſleeping elſe, but what his jea-"louſies awake," he then prays for judgment; as if *guilt* were to be the reſult of *jealouſy*, and conviction were to be the conſequence of his own failure in proof. "I will "fight with him upon this theme, until my "eyelids will no longer wag."

It was in this confidence, that he laid the

whole ſtreſs of *the iſſue*, on the *non-exiſtence* of the word *accede*, when Shakſpeare made his *profeſſion of faith*. The public accuſer is quite poſitive, that the word *accede* did not exiſt in our language, during that age (*b*). But, I will, on this occaſion, oppoſe his *negative* proofs by *poſitive* evidence. The *fact* is, notwithſtanding this poſitiveneſs of dogmatiſm, that the word *accede* did exiſt, during the age of Shakſpeare. Florio found this word *accede*, in 1611, though Coles did not adopt it, in 1679. In *Queen Anna's New World of*

(*b*) Mr. Malone is decidedly of opinion that, becauſe Coles did not inſert the word *accede* into his Latin dictionary, 1679, this negative circumſtance is an *unqueſtionable proof*, that this word was then unknown. [Inquiry, 204.] He regards the not finding of a word in dictionaries, as *a deciſive evidence* of *forgery*, in the document, which may contain ſuch a word. [Id.] He admits, however, in the Inquiry, 258, "the impoſſibility of proving an univerſal negative;" but, he inſiſts, that he has brought evidence enough to ſatisfy reaſonable inquirers of the truth of his negative poſition, till thoſe, who differ with him, prove the exiſtence of the conteſted words. No; Sir, you have no right to call upon others to help you out with your proofs: You undertook to eſtabliſh a forgery: Now, it is quite ſufficient for your opponents, to plead not guilty: And, it is your duty, as the public accuſer, to ſupport the accuſation, by your own proofs, or an acquittal, with its uſual conſequences, muſt be the reſult; whether we decide, according to common law, or common ſenſe.

Words,

Words, 1611, there is "*accédere*; to ACCEDE; "to approach, or have acceſs unto; alſo to "*aſſent unto:*" Now, here is *accede*, found in this *New World*, at the very time, and in the very ſenſe, of Shakſpeare. The public accuſer fails, then, in proving his iſſue; he fails in his negative proof; and he fails, conſequently, in eſtabliſhing his fundamental poſition, for proving deciſively the ſpuriouſneſs of Shakſpeare's profeſſion, that the word *accede* was not adopted into the Engliſh language, for a century, after Shakſpeare's death.

If, moreover, a *negative* could poſſibly be oppoſed to an *affirmative*, Coles is not ſo good an authority, as Florio, who had more genius, more learning, and more reſearch (*c*). It was,

(*c*) Of Florio, it is to be obſerved, that he was not a foreigner, who might be ſuppoſed to have collected his *Engliſh*, at ſecond hand. He was born in London, about the year 1553, of Italian parents, indeed, who, being *Waldenſes*, ſought refuge in England, during the reign of Henry VIII: But, they returned again to the continent, during Mary's perſecutions. Florio received his *puerile* education abroad. They all came back to England upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth. Florio, for a time reſided at Oxford, as we learn from Anthony Wood, who gives an imperfect account of him. Thither, he attended Mr. Barnes, the Biſhop of Durham's ſon, in 1576, as his tutor for the French, and Italian: And, *wearing a gown*, he was matriculated, as a member of Emanuel

was, indeed, to be expected by thoſe, who look on the analogies of language, with diſcerning

Emanuel College, in 1581; and taught ſcholars in the univerſity, when he was eight and twenty years of age. The *maidenhead of his induſtry*, he dedicated to the *renowned Leceſter*, in 1578; expecting patronage, which he never experienced: This was probably his *Firſt Frutes*, which were adapted to *the uſe* of *ſuch as were but meanly entered in the Italian tongue*. He publiſhed his *Second Frutes*, in 1591. He enjoyed a penſion for ſome years before he publiſhed his *World of Words*, in 1598, from Lord Southampton. He publiſhed a tranſlation of *Montaigne's Eſſays*, in 1603. But, a better proſpect now opened to his ſight. At the acceſſion of King James, Florio was appointed reader of the Italian language to Queen Anne, and one of the gentlemen of her privy chamber. I have ſeen a document in the paper-office, which ſhows, that he had, for thoſe appointments, £.100 a year; as Samuel Daniel, the poet, whoſe ſiſter he married, had annually £.60, as a gentleman of her privy chamber. In 1611, he publiſhed his *New World of Words*, newly *much augmented*, to which was prefixed a *print* of the author, in a very gorgeous dreſs. Retiring to Fulham, to avoid the plague, which then raged in London, he was, however, carried off by it, ſays A. Wood, in 1625. After great deliberation, he made his will, which he wrote with his own hand, and is dated the 20th of July 1625. He calls himſelf John Florio, of Fulham, Eſquire. He laments that he was able, from his poverty, to leave ſo little to his wife Roſe, whom he made his executrix, and to his daughter Aurelia, who had married James Molins: Yet, he bequeathed to William Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, "all his Italian, "French, and Spaniſh, books, as well printed, as unprinted, "being

cerning eyes, that *accede* would be adopted into the Engliſh tongue, as early as the kindred words *acceſs* and *acceſſible*, *ſecede* and *ſucceed*, and *recede*, which is the very contrary of the truant *accede*. But, as *the fact* is now ſettled, all ſubſequent reaſoning, upon the point, is vain. And, I will here cloſe my examination of the public accuſer's objections to *Shakſpeare's Profeſſion* of Faith; whereby I have ſhewn, that *the objection* is ſtill far from *the deciſion*.

Such is the *Apology*, which, on this head of the Inquiry, I ſubmit to the equity of this court. It will be readily remembered, that the public accuſer undertook to overturn the general argument for the believers, by ſpecial objections, although *the profeſſion of faith* is ſtrongly ſupported by external evidence. I

" being in number about three hundred and forty, including " his new and perfect dictionary, his dialogues in Italian " and Engliſh, and his unbound volume of divers written " collections and rhapſodies; and entreated his lordſhip, as " he once promiſed, to accept of them, as a token of affec- " tion, and for the teſtator's ſake, to place them in his li- " brary either at Wilton, or elſe at Baynard's Caſtle, in Lon- " don." This will was proved by his executrix, in the prerogative office, on the 1ſt of June 1626: From this fact, I ſuſpect, that Florio deceaſed in the preceding month. He died at the age of ſeventy-three, if we calculate from the date on the print of him.

have

have croſs-examined his ſpecial objections, which I have ſhown, I truſt, to be unſupported by argument, and inconſiſtent with facts: He has failed, then, in his pleadings. And being thus *wrong* by *ſyſtem*, and merely *right* by *accident*, I humbly hope, that this court will allow him to take nothing by his motion. A contrary deciſion would only furniſh report with an occaſion, and a cauſe, *to bruit*:—

" ——— So ſhall you hear
" Of *accidental judgements*, caſual ſlaughters,
" Of deaths put on by cunning, and *forc'd cauſe*."

— § VI. —

THE MISCELLANIES.

The public accuſer has not hitherto, as we have ſeen, *taken any thing, by any motion*; under any head of his *Inquiry*. Yet, he is not diſcouraged. He perſeveres, in his old modes of logical probation, with the pertinacity, which the beſt ſucceſs generally inſpires in other minds: thinking, no doubt, that,—

" ——— *Perſeverance* keeps honour bright:
" To have done, is to hang quite out of faſhion,
" Like ruſty mail, in monumental mockery."

In

In this temper, he continues to make such objections to *the Miscellaneous Papers*, as having been already confuted, need not be again considered: Who, but Alexander, would *fight his battles o'er again; thrice to slay the slain!* The public accuser, however, persists, in supposing what he ought to prove; in substituting assertions for proofs; and in drawing inferences, when he ought to establish premises. In this manner, he finds *the notes of hand*, and *receipts*, "so replete with absurdity "and incongruity, that it is scarce worth "while to examine them (*a*)."

But, he does think it worth while to examine the *hand-writing* of Shakspeare, on *the Receipts*; and "to enter into a minute detail "respecting the spelling of his name (*b*)." He goes into this minute criticism, notwithstanding his own declaration, when he examined the same point, in 1790. Before that epoch, much had been written, "relative to "the proper mode of spelling Shakspeare's "name:" But, a *mortgage*, which had been given by our poet, in 1613, was, luckily, discovered, in 1768. When Mr. Malone saw Shakspeare's subscription to that deed, he

(*a*) Inquiry, 116. (*b*) Id.

cried

cried out, in a deciſive tone: "It is hoped "we ſhall hear no more *idle babble* upon this "ſubject. He ſpelt the name himſelf as I "have juſt now written it, without the mid-"dle *e*. Let this therefore for ever decide "the queſtion (*c*)." But, *idle babble* ſeems to be a perennial ſpring; which continually throws up bubbles, and froth, and fume, according to the ſeaſon. Inſpired by the exhalations of this fountain, he is now determined, that the queſtion, about Shakſpeare's name, ſhall never be decided. And, he, accordingly, employs ſeveral pages to prove, that his deciſion, in 1790, ought to be reverſed, and the queſtion re-argued, in 1796.

I too have attentively examined the original will of Shakſpeare, which conſiſts of three *briefs*. Each of theſe *briefs*, or ſheets, is apparently ſubſcribed by him, though in a very different manner. Nor, is there any thing, in the mode of theſe ſignatures, more obvious to an accurate eye, than their complete diſſimilarity. The baptiſmal name is diſſimilar; the ſurname is diſſimilar: In the firſt brief, there is William, in the ſecond,

(*c*) Mal. Shakſpeare, 1790, vol. i. part i. p. 192.

Willm,

Willm, and in the third William (*d*): In the firſt brief, there is Shackſpere, in the ſecond, Shakſpe re, and in the third Shakſpeare. The W in William, in the three ſeveral ſignatures is quite different; the ſecond *s* in Shakſpeare is written differently, being a long *ſ* in the ſecond brief, and a ſhort *s* in the laſt: and the *r* is not exactly ſimilar in the three ſeveral ſignatures. The ſcrivener, who wrote this never-to-be-forgotten will, ſpelt the teſtator's name Shackſpeare. When the teſtator ſubſcribed his name, for the *laſt time*, he plainly wrote Shakſpeare. And, the monumental inſcriptions of his family exhibit three varieties; Shakeſpeare; Shakeſpere; and Shakſpeare (*e*). Yet, Mr. Malone, with all thoſe documents before him, infers from the *ſingle autograph of one deed*, amidſt *ſo many varieties*, "that his own [Shakſpeare's] or-"thography of his name is aſcertained, be-"yond a poſſibility of doubt, to have been "Shakſpere (*f*):" And, he adds, as a *neceſ-*

(*d*) The mortgage, which is publiſhed in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 19, is ſigned *Wm* Shakſpe[a]: The conveyance publiſhed in Mal. Inquiry, 402, is ſubſcribed *William* Shakſpe[r].

(*e*) Dugdale's Warwick, p. 518, 520.

(*f*) Inquiry, 120.

ſary

ſary conſequence, although we have now before us *five ſignatures*, which are *all different* from each other, "that theſe papers, in which a "different orthography is almoſt uniformly "found, cannot but be a forgery (*g*)." He thinks, in oppoſition to the laſt ſignature, which the poet ever made, that he wrote *Shakſpere!* Yet, does the public accuſer avow his purpoſe to give his reaſons hereafter, why he will continue to ſpell the name of our dramatiſt *Shakſpeare*. Let us, however, hope, with Mr. Malone, in 1790, "to hear no more "idle babble upon this ſubject," in oppoſition to Mr. Malone, in 1796 (*h*). "Where much "*bablyng* is there muſt nedes be offence; and "he that reſtraineth his lyps is wyſe (*i*)."

(*g*) Inquiry, p. 121-2.

(*h*) See the annexed plate of the *five* genuine ſignatures of Shakſpeare, which I cauſed to be engraved; in order to enable every reader to form his own opinion from his own inſpection. The ſignature on the ſecond ſheet of the will is engraved together with the word *the* of the *preceding line*; for the purpoſe of ſhowing how Shakſpeare was prevented from inſerting *ſome letter* before the final *re*. The reader may be aſſured that theſe ſignatures are very perfect *fac-ſimiles*.

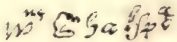
(*i*) See *The pithy and mooſt notable ſayinges of al ſcripture gathered by Thomas Paynel*. Imprinted by Copland for Jugge, without the *yere*.

But,

To face P. 224.

Five genuine Autographs of Shakspeare.

N.° 1



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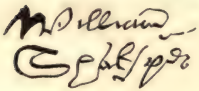

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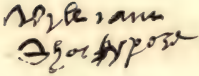

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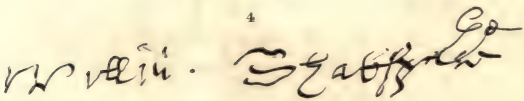

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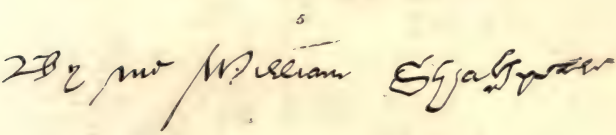

N.° 1, is from Shakspeare's Mortgage 1612-13.

2, is from M.r Malone's plate II. N.° X.

3, is from the first brief of Shakspeare's Will.

4, is from the second brief of the Will.

5, is from the third brief of the Will.

I. Girtin del.t et sculp.t 2, S.t Martin's Le Grand.

But, the public accuſer will, perhaps, be more happy, on ſome other occaſion. "Thoſe," he (*k*) ſays, "are but trifling objections to the manner in which the ſums "are here ſpecified, I mean in *Arabick numerals*; a mode which thoſe who have the "ſlighteſt knowledge of former times know "not to have been the practice of that age." Upon this important point of our archæology, he *is as poſitive as the earth is firm.* Yet, will I join iſſue with him upon it, for the vindication of the truth.

The introduction of ARABIC NUMERALS into England may be traced back, at leaſt, as far as the epoch of the *Conqueſt* (*l*). Mr. Aſtle is, however, of opinion, that *Arabic* numerals were not introduced into our charters, before the ſixteenth century; and, that, if Arabic numerals were found in any Engliſh charters, *before* the fourteenth century, this circumſtance would invalidate ſuch charters, by raiſing ſtrong ſuſpicions of their fraudulence (*m*). With regard to parochial regiſters,

(*k*) Inquiry, p. 126.

(*l*) See Waſſe's Diſſertation, Bibl. Liter. No. viii, 1722; Archæolog. vol. i. p. 150; and Mr. Aſtle's curious work on Writing, 180, and plate 30.

(*m*) The Progreſs of Writing, 188.

and the accounts of parish officers, Mr. Waſſe aſſerts, that it was not, till about the year 1600, that the Arabic numerals were uſed in them (*n*): But, this opinion of Mr. Waſſe, like the poſitiveneſs of Mr. Malone, appears to be founded upon a narrow view of the ſubject. Mr. Malone might have ſeen, in the Archæologia, a very curious ſpecimen of the accounts of the pariſh of St. Helen's, in Abingdon; which, from the firſt of Philip and Mary, were kept in Arabic numerals (*o*). This ſpecimen is alone ſufficient to ſhow, that the opinions both of Mr. Waſſe, and Mr. Malone, ought to be received with many limitations; ſo as to give to both the qualified meanings, which they, probably, intended, and the truth, certainly, requires. But, had their propoſition been, that the pariſh officers,

(*n*) Bibl. Liter. No. viii.

(*o*) Archæol. vol. i. p. 11. This ſpecimen is the more ſatisfactory, becauſe it has intermixed *Roman* numerals, for the years, and *Arabic* numerals, for the money; which is ſtated in *ſhillings*, and *pence*, without the pounds: This document is alſo important; as it furniſhes other illuſtrations of Shakſpeare. And, ſee Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, the appx. No. 5: The *Faculty Office: The Diſpenſations* with *their prices:* Theſe are all ſtated in Arabic numerals; and this document is, therefore, a very ſatisfactory ſpecimen; being a MS. of the Archbiſhop, who died on the 6th of July 1583. [Strype, p. 289.]

the managers of theatres, and houſehold ſtewards of families, *generally*, kept their accounts, during the age of Elizabeth, in *Roman* numerals, it would not have followed, as a conſequence, that the tranſcript from the books of St. Helen's, and the *Faculty Office* of Archbiſhop Grindal, or the *Notes* and *Receipts* of Shakſpeare are ſpurious; becauſe they contain *Arabic* numerals.

This reaſoning is confirmed, by a thouſand (*p*) documents, from the reign of Henry 8, to the acceſſion of King James (*q*). The account of the ſales of chauntries, colleges, and other lands of a ſimilar nature, in the ſecond year of Edward the 6th's reign, as it is drawn up in Arabic numerals, is ſatisfactory evidence; and, as it contains many curious particulars, gives riſe to ſome ſerious reflections (*r*). *A Certificate of Fees*, which were paid in thoſe days, in the Conſiſtory Court of

(*p*) See Strype's Memorials, vol. i. appx. No. xxix; c. vii; c. xix, for ſeveral ſtatements in the time of Henry 8, which were drawn up in *Arabic* numerals.

(*q*) Lord Burghley's Diary, in Murden's State Papers, is full of Arabic numerals.

(*r*) Strype's Mem. vol. ii. appx. p. 85. It is a remarkable circumſtance, that this account contains £. 2. 2. 0. [See p. 91.]

(*s*) Norwich, as it is written in Arabic numerals, is equally authentic in its notices, and equally satisfactory in its inferences. There were, during Elizabeth's age, ecclesiastical documents, which were formed in a mixed style of composition, both of *Roman*, and of *Arabic*, numerals. Of this mixed nature, is "The State of the Bishoprick of St. Davids, "which was sent by the Bishop to Burgh-"ley(*t*)." Of the same nature, is the "Survey "taken of the value of the Bishoprick of "Chichester, upon the death of Curteſſe the "late Bishop thereof(*u*)." Of the same kind, and still more illustrative, is, "a discovery "of the present estate of the Bishoprick of "St. Asaph," which was sent to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, February 24, 1587 (*v*). These documents, composed as they are of Arabic numerals, prove decisively the rashness of unqualified assertion, and the inconclusiveness of negative positions.

(*s*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. appx. p. 79.

(*t*) Strype's An. vol. iii. appx. p. 37. Here is the first article: "The Bishoprick of S[t] Davids was by Commis-"sion, An. 27. R. Reg. *Henrici Octavi*, valued *de claro*— "—CCCCLVII. l. 22. d. obq."

(*u*) Ib. p. 123. (*v*) Ib. 184.

I might

I might here close my proofs, upon this point, with this refutation of the objection to the Arabic numerals; which, as it is founded in mistake, might be dismissed, without further notice. But, I will proceed a step, or two, further, for the vindication of truth, and the illustration of our archæology. The invention of the Arabic cyphers was a discovery of as much importance to science, as it was convenient to business. Soon after the introduction of printing, the arithmetical books were printed in Arabic numerals. In this manner was Tonstal's work, *De Arte Supputandi*, imprinted by Pynson, in 1522 (*w*). Record's *Arithmetick, the ground of arts*, which was dedicated to Edward 6th, was printed in Arabic numerals. At the accession of Elizabeth, the more general knowledge, and common use, of the Italian method of book-keeping, by double entry, was introduced, and taught, by James Peele (*x*). It was,

(*w*) The *Whetstone of Witte*, which is the seconde part of *Arithmetike*, was printed in Arabic numerals, by Kyngstone, in 1557.

(*x*) Anderson's Hist. Deduction of Commerce, vol. i. p. 408.—Anderson neglected to give us the title-page of this curious book, which is here subjoined for the reader's satisfaction; since it shows also the mistake of Anderson, in

was, by these means, that the habit of using Arabic cyphers, in the operations of life, became more customary; while the Roman numerals kept their accustomed places, in the Exchequer-practice. And, before the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign, the Arabic figures had almost banished the Roman numerals, from the usual transactions of daily business.

This deduction may be proved by many documents. In the year 1545, there is "A Note "of the defraying of victuals for Bulloyn, "Callais, and other places," in Arabic numerals (*y*). In 1552, there is "A Brieff of "all the King's Majestyes Debts with pro-"vision for the discharge thereof (*z*)." In

fixing the year 1569, as the epoch of the introduction of book-keeping by double entry:—

"1569.

"The Pathe waye to Perfectnes, in th' Accomptes of "Debitour, and Creditour: in manner of a Dialogue, "very pleasaunte and proffitable for Marchauntes and all "other that minde to frequente the same: *once agayne* "*set forthe*, and verie muche enlarged, by James Peele "Citizen and Salter of London, Clercke of Christes "Hospitall, practizer and teacher of the same.

"Imprinted at London, in Paules Churchyarde.

"By Thomas Purfoote, dwellinge at the signe of the "Lucrece.—16 August."

(*y*) In Hayne's Burghley papers, p. 54.

(*z*) Ib. 126. This too is in Arabic numerals.

1563,

1563, there is "the Eſtabliſhment and charges "of the Eaſt, Weſt, and middle Marches (*a*)." There is "A State of the Low Countries," which was drawn up by the accurate pen of Burghley, in Arabic numerals (*b*). There is "An Account of the Earl of Arundel's Debts, "Eſtate, and Circumſtances," which is ſtated, wholly, in Arabic numerals (*c*). Raleigh wrote to Burghley, in 1592, concerning the huge *Carrack*, called *the Mother of God*, ſeveral letters; in which he introduces many Arabic numerals (*d*). There is a paper drawn up by Burghley, in 1592, ſtating in Arabic numerals, the Queen's extraordinary charges, by means of the Spaniſh war (*e*). Sir Thomas Greſham, who was the great agent for money,

(*a*) In Hayne's Burghley papers, p. 397.—This is a very long account in Arabic numerals: And, ſee the ſame book, p. 455, for the Biſhop of London's Certificate of the numbers of all ſtrangers, within the ſeveral wards of that city, which is ſtated in Arabic numerals.

(*b*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. appx. p. 66.

(*c*) Ib. p. 134. And ſee the ſame book, p. 147-8—153—169—174-5—182—221—226, for a variety of curious documents, which are all drawn up in Arabic numerals.

(*d*) Strypes's Annals, vol. iv. p. 126-9—130.

(*e*) Ib. iii: And ſee p. 197, the names of recuſants, with the ſums of money paid by them, in 1594, which are alſo in Arabic numerals.

in that reign, made conſtant uſe of Arabic numerals, in his letters to Burghley (*f*). The ſtate of the ſhips, and men, which were to oppoſe the Spaniſh Armada, in 1588, was drawn up wholly in Arabic numerals (*g*). There is "A brief note of all ſuch Silver "Bullion as was brought into the Towere "by Sir Francis Drake, and laid in the vaute "under the Jewel houſe, and what hath "been taken out, and remaineth," which was ſtated in Arabic numerals (*h*). Peck has preſerved ſome very curious papers of that age, which are written in Arabic numerals (*i*). Mr. Malone has, indeed, expreſſed his doubts, about ſome of thoſe papers; without recollecting, that *doubts* are not *proofs*. His ſcep-

(*f*) Murden, p. 217. (*g*) Ib. 594—627.

(*h*) Ib. 539.

(*i*) Deſider. Curioſ. vol. ii. p. 246-7-8-9:—There are two articles, which are ſtrikingly intereſting:

It:—6 yards of tawny velvit at 14s. each yard £.4 4 0
It:—3 hhds. of wine, 1 white, 1 red, and 1 claret 5 5 0

In Peck's Deſid. vol. i. p. 61, there is an account of "Queen Elizabeth's annual expence, civil and military," which is drawn up in Arabic numerals. Mr. Malone, however, "has not the ſmalleſt doubt, that the Arabick nu-"merals were adopted by Peck, as leaſt troubleſome." [Inquiry, p. 127.] This is not only to doubt againſt the document, but to argue againſt fact.

ticiſm

ticiſm cannot remember, that unleſs he prove, that the univerſal practice of the age was to keep accounts in Roman numerals, he will fail in his objection to the uſe of Arabic numerals, in *the Miſcellaneous Papers*.

I have already diſproved the univerſality of the practice of keeping books of accounts in Roman numerals, during that age, whatever may have been done in the exchequer. Of more than fifty warrants, for paying money to players, which I have gleaned from the *council-regiſters* of Elizabeth's reign, one eighth of them are ſtated in *words*, one eighth in *Roman* numerals, and the other *three fourths of them* in *Arabic* numerals. In the paper office, there is a book, N° 24; containing Prince Henry's privy-purſe expences, for one year, from the 29th of September 1609, to the 29th of September 1610; which is drawn up, wholly, in Arabic numerals (*k*). This book, as it was thus

(*k*) The whole expence of one year was £.1400. Among other charges, the following are remarkable:

17th October paid to a Frenchman, that preſented a book — —	£.	4	10 0
20 Octo[r] paid Mr. Holyoak for writing a Catalogue of the Library which the Prince had of Lord Lumley — —		8	13 4
1610-11, Janry, paid to two poor ſcholars		2	0 0
29 Sep[r], *loſt at cards* — —		6	6 0

Here,

thus kept in Arabic numerals, ought to remove ſome of Mr. Malone's doubts; ſince he knows how often "doubting things go ill."

Yet, he continues to doubt, with regard to Shakſpeare's receipts of money for playing at the houſe of *lorde Leyceſterre* (*l*). He ſuſpects, that an error of his own, which he now retracts, was the foundation of the forgery of theſe receipts. The fact is, as the *council-regiſters* evince, that the uſual recompence for playing before the Queen was £.6. 13. 4; and generally £.3. 6. 8, in addition, as the royal bounty (*m*). On this head, then, the objection to the ſum of £.19, which Lord Leyceſterre paid,

Here, we ſee the Prince of Wales loſing *ſix guineas* at cards. This book is ſubſcribed by the Prince:—*f Henry P*; his baptiſmal name being Frederick Henry.—And, as a concluſive proof of the uſe of Arabic numerals, among the players, in Shakſpeare's days, ſee Mr. Malone's own document, *the Articles of Grievance* againſt Mr. Hinchlowe. [Inquiry, 247.]

(*l*) Inquiry, 128-9.

(*m*) A warrant was granted, on the 27th of Nov. 1597, to Sir John Stanhope, the treaſurer of her majeſty's chamber, to pay to John Hemings, and Thoms Pope, ſervants to the lord chamberlain, for ſix interludes, played before her majeſty, in the Chriſtmas holydays laſt, the ſum of forty pounds, for their pains and charges, and by way of her majeſty's reward £.20. [Council-regiſter of that date.]

on

on one occaſion, for the players *greate expennces* in playing *ats houſe*, is not to be juſtified, when we conſider both the fact, and the practice. But, the great liberality of Lord Leyceſter, whoſe name Shakſpeare could not ſpell, it ſeems, though every body elſe could, who did not live ſo near to Kenelworth Caſtle, is extremely objectionable; being no leſs than "the ſumme o' 50 poundes (*n*)." As we are not told how many plays were enacted, or what work was done, for this great reward, the minute critic has not ſufficient ground for *his ſtretch'd footing and the ſcaffoldage*.

Thus, is the public accuſer continually finding objections in his own miſtakes. In this ſtrain, he objects to the application of the worſhipful epithet *grace* to any other noble perſonages than dukes; and he objects to the ſpelling of *Leyceſter*. But, we have ſeen, that ſuch objections are more eaſily made, than fully ſupported: I have already ſhown, with ſufficient conviction, that there was then no ſettled cuſtom, in the application of the epithet *grace*, which was applied, at times, to a *marchioneſs*, and to a *baron*; nor any general uniformity, in

(*n*) Inquiry, 126.

the

the ſpelling of that favourite's title (*o*). Happy had it been for Mr. Malone, if before he entangled himſelf, in ſuch a maze of doubts, he had reflected, with Dekker, that,

" A *maze* is like a *doubt*;
" 'Tis eaſy to get in; hard to get out."

Yet, is he determined to perſevere in his congenial mode of objecting to a *want* of *uniformity*, in an age, when uniformity did not exiſt in practice, or theory. In this ſtyle, he objects to Shakſpeare's *ſpecialties* to John Heminges; "for ſo his name ſhould be written," ſays Mr. Malone (*p*). Was the name of this firſt editor of Shakſpeare's dramas ever written, and printed *ſo* before? Was it *ſo* written by Mr. Malone, in 1790? Was it *ſo* written in his will? Was it ſo printed in

(*o*) The famous Sir Thomas Greſham, writing to Burghley on the 28th of May 1572, prays: " that I maye have my " Lady Mary Grey removed *owght* of hand, ſeeing that her " majeſtie haythe holly refferyed the matter to you, and my " Lord *Leaſſitor*, wherein youre Lordeſhip ſhall do me and my " wiffe a very *ſinggeular* good Torne." [Murden, p. 217.] Now, the queſtion is, whether this letter of Sir Thomas Greſham, who knew *men*, and *matters*, as well as any perſon of that age, be genuine, or ſpurious? Mr. Malone has already decided, that it is ſpurious; becauſe Greſham, who had probably lent money to Leiceſter, muſt have known how to ſpell the name of that *finggeular good lorde*.

(*p*) Inquiry, 137-9.

the

the firſt edition of Shakſpeare's comedies, tragedies and hiſtories, in 1623? Was it ever ſo printed ſince? If you aſk Mr. Malone for a reaſon, why the name ſhould be *ſo* written, he will anſwer, in his own manner; becauſe "it was a very frequent practice in the laſt "age to add a final *s* to proper names." He ſubjoins a better reaſon: "the corruption of "the name of Heminge was by himſelf, by "adding a final *s*:" And, he fortifies this accuſation, by aſſerting, that "the name is "alſo written Hemin*ges* in the margin of that "will, which is preſerved in the prerogative "office as an original." I ſuſpect, however, that the aſſertion, with regard to the name of Hemin*ges*, on the margin of the will, cannot be ſupported. On examining the record, it appeared to me, diſtinctly, that the name, which was written on the margin, by the clerk, is Hemings (*q*). But, Mr. Malone will be, doubtleſs, more happy in the diſcoveries, which

(*q*) In the council-regiſters, the name is ſpelt ſometimes Heminges, but oftener Hemings. A will of John Hemings may be found in the prerogative office, in 1665: And, in 1686, the will of George Hemings. It appears from Lyſons's *Environs of London*, vol. ii. p. 10, and vol. iii. p. 334-95—585, that the name of Heming remains to the preſent day. One *autograph* (and we have only one genuine ſignature of *Heminges*) is not ſufficient evidence to prove how he generally ſpelt his name.

he

he has recently made, on this ſubject, in the pariſh-regiſters of St. Mary Aldermanbury; as he can read the old hand-writing ſo much better, than the believers: He therein found, it ſeems, that John Hemings was married on the X^the^ of March 158$\frac{7}{8}$ to Rebecca *Nuel*, widow. Yet, the regiſter demonſtrates, that theſe diſcoveries are all imaginary. In the entries of his marriage, in the pariſh-regiſter, and of the baptiſm of his five children, the name is uniformly ſpelt (*r*) Heming; and he married, not Rebecca *Nuel*, but Rebecca *Knell, widdow* (*s*). If it were a queſtion, whether the pariſh-regiſters of St. Mary Aldermanbury be genuine, or ſpurious, Mr. Malone would readily decide, as there is a miſſpelling in the name of *Heming*, that they

(*r*) The regiſter of Shottery pariſh, near Stratford-upon-Avon, ſpells the name Heming, and Hemyng, but never Hemings. [Mal. Shak. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 189.]

(*s*) If I might be indulged a conjecture, when adjuſting ſuch an important point, as the true ſpelling of Hemyng's name, I ſhould gueſs, that the Miſtreſs Knell, whom John Heming certainly married, was, probably, the *widow* of *Knell*, the actor, who is mentioned by Heywood, in 1612, as dead before his time; [Apology for Actors, Sig^r^ E. 2;] and is ſpoken of as the Garrick of his day: For, there was a very intimate connection between the players of former times.

are

are certainly ſpurious; as he would equally decide, in favour of his own infallibility, as to Miſtreſs *Nuel*, againſt Miſtreſs *Knell*, and the regiſter. *Uniformity of ſpelling* is to Mr. Malone, what a *quibble* was to Shakſpeare: He purſues it, at all adventures, as the traveller purſues an *ignis fatuus*; it is ſure to lead him out of the way; and is ſure to plunge him in the mire: *Uniformity of ſpelling* is the fatal Cleopatra, for which he loſt the critical world; and is content to loſe it.

After ſuch diſcoveries, and ſuch indications of forgery, the public accuſer thinks it unneceſſary to call the attention "to the ſum of "*five guineas*, here in fact, though not in "words promiſed to be paid." He admits, however, that "in the infinite combinations "which ſums are capable of ſuch payments "may occaſionally have been made as five "pounds and five ſhillings."—Yet, even in theſe inſtances, the uſual mode of ancient times was, to write xxi ſhillings; or cv ſhillings. In oppoſition to theſe aſſumptions, and ſuggeſtions, I have ſhown payments of £.6. 6*s*. £.5. 5*s*. £.4. 4*s*. and £.2. 2*s*. in Shakſpeare's age; and which were all charged, in Arabic numerals; in direct refutation of Mr. Malone's

Malone's theory; and in contempt, as it were, of the *idle babble* about *five guineas*.

But, the minute critic, as he is inveſted with unbounded invention, is alſo endued with *ſecond ſight*. The word *recompence*, which is uſed in Shakſpeare's *ſpecialty*, "though it "was in uſe at that time, *would not have been* "*the word employed here*; but (*t*) *reward*," it ſeems. In fact, Shakſpeare uſes the word *recompence*, on ſuch occaſions. Shakſpeare might have ſaid to Hemings, not in the honey-moon, indeed, which would have diſſatisfied the wanton *widdow* (*u*) *Nuel*; but in the following year: "Do not look for further "*recompence*, [in going down to Stratford,] "than thine own *gladneſs* that thou art em-"ployed:" Hemings might have replied, in "friendly *recompence*" to Shakſpeare: "Thou "art ſo far before, that ſwifteſt wing of *re-*"*compence* is ſlow to overtake thee (*v*)." The public accuſer concludes his objections to this *ſpecialty* of Shakſpeare, in his beſt man-

(*t*) Inquiry, 136. (*u*) Inquiry, 140.

(*v*) In his twenty-third ſonnet, Shakſpeare aſks;
"Who plead for love, and look for *recompence?*"
See Mal. Supl^t vol. i. p. 600. And, ſee *Twelfth Night:*
"I am no feed poſt, lady; keep your purſe;
"My maſter, not myſelf, lacks *recompenſe.*"

ner.

ner. After deciding, by an averment, that difficult queſtion, when the GLOBE *Theatre* was built, he adds: "But we want no aid "from theſe minute obſervations: The whole "is an evident forgery (*w*)." Three ſophiſms, in one breath, the Globe, the forgery, the *evident* forgery, may well prompt an enraged critic to exclaim with Lear, "Ha! here's "three of us are *ſophiſticated*."

In this ſtyle of ſophiſtry, the public accuſer opens his attack on *Shakſpeare's Letter* to *Cowley* (*x*). He deems it a ſtrong objection to aſſert, "that Richard Cowley was a "*low actor*, who played the part of *Verges* in "*Much Ado About Nothing*; and who, if we "are to credit theſe papers, was our poet's "boſom friend (*y*)." He meets him in ſuitable company; yet, with the acuteneſs of Dogberry, *he ſuſpects him, by virtue of his office to be no true man*. Richard Cowley was certainly not one of the *hired men* of *The Company*; but was, undoubtedly, *a fellow*, of Shakſpeare, Hemings, Cundal, Laurence Fletcher, Auguſtine Phillips, Robert Armin, and other chief comedians. He had the honour to be mentioned, by King James, with Laurence Fletcher, Shakſpeare, and the other reſpectable

(*w*) Inquiry, 137. (*x*) Ib. 205. (*y*) Ib.

actors of that epoch, as one of the company at the Globe theatre. When Auguſtine Phillips made his will, in 1605, he gave a legacy to Richard Cowley, together with Shakſpeare, Cundal, Laurence Fletcher, Armyn, and the teſtators, other *fellows* of the King's company (*z*). It appears from various circumſtances, that the players, of that period, had a warm friendſhip for each other; which, as it does credit to their characters, reflects honour on their memories. Theſe facts eſtabliſh a ſtrong preſumption, which idle aſſertion cannot ſhake, that Shakſpeare might probably account Richard Cowley, a *pleaſaynte ande wittye perſonne whoſe companye he did eſteeme.*

But, a *witty* perſon, in Shakſpeare's time, ſignified, ſays Mr. Malone, "either a man of "cunning and ſhrewdneſs; not as it is here "uſed, a man of lively fancy (*a*)." I wot no what *wit* it is, who ſays: "I am not "only *witty* in myſelf; but the cauſe that "*wit* is in other men:" Mr. Malone can tell. He has read, no doubt, a certain comedy, yclept *Much Ado About Nothing*; wherein he

(*z*) I have luckily found *the Will* of Auguſtine Phillips, which Mr. Malone unluckily miſſed; and which, as it contains many curious particulars, will be hereinafter printed.

(*a*) Inquiry, 205-6.

might have ſeen an exemplification of *witty* perſons:

Benedict: Sir, I ſhall meet your *wit* in the career, if you charge it againſt me.

* * * * *

Benedict: Sir, your *wit* ambles well; it goes eaſily.

Pedro: I'll tell thee, how Beatrice praiſed thy *wit* the other day: I ſaid, *thou hadſt a fine wit: True*; ſays ſhe, *a fine little one: No*; ſaid I, *a great wit: Right*; ſaid ſhe, *a great groſs one:* Nay; ſaid I, *a good wit: Juſt*; ſays ſhe, it hurts nobody.

Shakſpeare repeats the word *wit*, for a reciprocation of ſmartneſs, a thouſand times (*b*). Yet,

(*b*) "What a *witſnapper* are you." [Merch. of Venice.] "A college of *witcrakers* cannot flout me out of my "humour." [Much Ado.] Chapman, Ben Johnſon, and Marſton, concurred with Shakſpeare, when they wrote the Prologue to *Eaſtward Hoe*, in 1605, which concluded with this couplet:

"Bear with our willing pains, if dull, or *witty*;
"We only dedicate it to the cittye."

Ben Johnſon's verſes to the memory of Shakſpeare, as they are publiſhed in Mal. Shak. vol. i. p. 201, have theſe lines:

"Which were ſo richly ſpun, and woven ſo fit,
"As, ſince, ſhe will vouchſafe no other *wit:*
"The merry Greek, tart Ariſtophanes,
"Neat Terence, *witty* Plautus, now not pleaſe;
"But antiquated and deſerted lie,
"As they were not of Nature's family."

Ben Johnſon was ſaid, at the time, to be the *wittieſt* bricklayer in England. Harrington has *witty* very often in his *Epigrams*. Yet, Mr. Malone reſumes his objection to *witty*, in the Inquiry, 297; inſiſting with unlucky perſeverance,

Yet, Mr. Malone gravely maintains his poſition, with wild pertinacity; as if the epithet *witty* had not been uſed by Shakſpeare, and the other wits of his age, in both the ſenſes; for a *ſmart*, and for a ſhrewd, perſon.

The public accuſer now diverges from *witty* to *whimſical*. "The *whymſicall Conceit* "will demand," he ſays (*c*) ſeriouſly, "a more "particular examination." He turns over dictionaries, for the word *whimſical*, without ſucceſs; though he finds, in the age of Shakſpeare, *whim-wham*, and *whimſy*,—fantaſtical, toyiſh, odde, conceited; which are all couſin-germans of *whimſical conceit*: And, from his diſappointment in the ſearch, he infers, ac-

that it bore, in thoſe times, no ſuch meaning, as ſarcaſtic joke. Wilſon in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, which was printed in 1553, 1567, and 1585, has a chapter of *wittie* jeſting: "Many pleaſant gentlemen are well practiſed in *merrie* "conceipted jeſts." [Laſt Edit. p. 184.] See Marſton's Satire, 1599: *Stultorum plena ſunt omnia*:

"For, (ſhame to the poet) read NED, behold!
"How *wittily* a maiſterſhood can ſcold.

In a note Marſton adds: "Mark the *witty* alluſion to "*my name*." [Sig. H 1.] But, *Ned* cried out; enough; enough; of *witty*, quite enough!!!

(*c*) Inquiry, 206.—Fowler ſent from Wodſtoke, on the 11th of September 1603, to the Earl and Counteſs of Shrewſbury, "A *Conceate* of myne drauen from ane horologe." [Lodge's Illuſt. vol. iii. p. 169.]

cording

cording to his own mode of logic, that the word *whimſical* did not then exiſt. I have already diſcovered ſo many words, which are thus ſuppoſed not to exiſt, that I feel myſelf entitled to deny the right of the public accuſer, to conſider *nonentities*, as facts; to reaſon from ſuſpicions, as bearing the force of evidence; and to call for conviction from what he aſſerts, rather than from what he proves. While ſearching unſucceſsfully for a *whimſical conceit*, he might have found a boke of *wyſe conceytes*; containing "*wittie* fayned "ſayings of men, beaſts, and fouls (*d*):" Herein, he might have ſeen, how a *crane* trying to emulate the *eagle*, in flying up as high as the *ſunne*, evinced, by her fate, that,

"Who ſo clymbeth higher than he ſhould,
"Falleth lower than he would."

(*d*) This rare, elegant, and wittie, *Schole* of *wiſe Conceytes* was printed by Binneman, in 1569. The inquirer [p. 209] objects to "*oune* for *one*, which (he ſays) is the ſpelling of no "time whatſoever." If he had not thought *negative* proofs quite ſufficient, he might have ſeen *oon* for *one*, frequently, in Henry the 7th's Inſtructions, before mentioned; in a love-letter of Henry the 8th to *Anna* Bullen, there is *won* for one; and he may ſee *oone* for *one*, very often in Sir Edward Waldegrave's account of the burial of Edward the 6th, in The Archæol. vol. xii. p. 395. My argument is, that there was, in thoſe times, *no uniformity* of ſpelling; and conſequently, there could be no *precedent* for the ſpelling of any one word.

The fate of the crane does not, however, reſtrain the public accuſer from making ſimilar objections to Shakſpeare's *Deed of Gift to William Henry* (*e*) *Ireland*, which he ſupports by ſuppoſing much, and proving little. This is the firſt deed, he proteſts, that he had ever peruſed, though he had examined not a few, in which a ſtory, with all its circumſtances, was regularly told. He has never read, it ſeems, Weſt's *Symboleographie*, which he ſometimes quotes. This *deſcription* of *inſtruments*, and *precedents*, ſufficiently proves, that recitals were very commonly prefixed to deeds; in order to lay a ſtrong foundation, for the ſubſequent contracts (*f*). He thus fails, in his firſt objection. In oppoſition to the deed, he makes an averment, that Shakſpeare did not live in the Blackfriars, in 1604: And, in order to make out this objection, he ſays, that Shakſpeare had no motive to live then in the Blackfriars; undertaking withal, to prove, that Shakſpeare lived in Southwark,

(*e*) Inquiry, 210.

(*f*) I quote the edit. 1647; wherein may be ſeen, particularly, contracts of marriage, which regularly tell the ſtory with all the circumſtances: And, the ſcrivener would have ill diſcharged his truſt, had he not recited the intention, and agreement, of the contracting parties.

during

during the year 1596; perhaps from that year to 1608. It would be a point of more importance to ſettle, whether Shakſpeare ever had a fixed reſidence in the metropolis. I doubt, if the poet ever brought his family from Stratford, or ever conſidered London, as his home (*g*). If it be true, that his houſe-

(*g*) From the pariſh-regiſter of Stratford-upon-Avon, it appears:—

1ſt. That he was baptized there, on the 26th April 1564;

2dly. That his daughter Suſanna was baptized there, on the 26th May 1583;

3dly. That Hamnet and Judith, his twin ſon, and daughter, were baptized there, the 2d February 158$\frac{4}{5}$.

4thly. That his ſon Hamnet was buried there, on the 11th of Auguſt 1596.

5thly. That his daughter Suſanna was there married to John Hall, on the 5th of June 1607.

6thly. That his daughter Judith was there married to Thomas Queeny, on the 10th of February 16$\frac{1}{2}$.

7thly. That he was buried there, on the 23d April 1616.

From theſe incontrovertible facts, I am led to infer, that Shakſpeare's family conſtantly reſided at the place of his birth, and burial. Add to this, that his mortgage, dated the 10th of March 1612-13, deſcribes him, as William Shakeſpeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, gentleman. He is ſaid to have produced his *Twelfth Night*, in 1614. Ben Johnſon calls him the *Sweet Swan of Avon*, not of Thames. And, the tradition, which is ſtill remembered, of Shakſpeare's frequent journies from Stratford to London, and from London to Stratford, confirms my conjecture.

hold was at Stratford, and his abode in London; during particular ſeaſons, it will follow; that the objector again fails in his poſition.

By the acceſſion of King James, Shakſpeare acquired ſome honour. From being the ſervant of the Lord Chamberlain, he, and his fellows, became immediately the ſervants of the King (*h*). It was from the mere favour of James, who wiſhed to pleaſe every body, and not to the ſolicitation of Lord Southampton, who had too many things to aſk for (*i*) himſelf, that the licenſe was granted to Fletcher, Shakſpeare, and other players, on the 19th of May 1603, to play at the Globe, and at other convenient places, within any town. And, it was equally commodious for Shakſpeare to reſide, for a time, in the Blackfriars, as on the Bankſide. Here again the objector fails.—

> " I laugh, when thoſe who at the ſpear are bold,
> " And vent'rous, if that fail them, ſhrink and fear."

But, the public accuſer will neither ſhrink, nor fear, when he engages to invalidate the

(*h*) Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant* 1604, ſig. B.

(*i*) Mr. Malone ſays, that the licenſe was procured, " without doubt, by the favour of the Earl of Southampton." [Inquiry, 214.] It would require much ſtronger evidence, than mere aſſertion, to ſatisfy me of the truth of this poſition; ſo doubtful, and ſo improbable, do I think it.

deed

deed of gift to Ireland; by ſhowing, that, as Shakſpeare could ſwim, he owed no obligation to his ſaviour: And, he proves, that Shakſpeare could (*k*) ſwim, by ſaying, that the poet could *deſcribe* the uſeful art of ſwimming; as if, by parity of reaſon, the dramatiſt were able to create the cliffs of Dover:—

" Mark, and perform it, ſee'ſt thou! for the fail
" Of any point in't ſhall not only be
" Death to thyſelf; but ——"

Notwithſtanding this denunciation, we are, from vague conjecture, once more carried back (*l*) to *verbal diſquiſition*, which, in *this Inquiry*, are not long ſeparated from each other. The ſeamen's word *upſet*, which they uſe colloquially, it ſeems, to expreſs one of the many modes of ſhipwreck, the public accuſer could not find in Johnſon's dictionary, nor indeed in any book (*m*): Yet, he admits it to have crept into our language; though he cannot tell when. It has been ſaid, by Johnſon, that the *naval dialogue* of *the Tempeſt* is perhaps the firſt example of ſailor's language, exhibited on the ſtage. If this creative genius firſt introduced the naval dialogue of our

(*k*) Inquiry, 217. (*l*) Ib. 219.

(*m*) In Eliot's dictionary, printed by Berthelet, 1545, the word *everto* is rendered " to tourne *up ſet* downe."

dramatic

dramatic colloquy, is it improbable, that he may have adopted *upſet*, either by deſign, or chance. If it be probable, that he found the word on the Bankſide, or in Eliot's dictionary, a *ſuſpicion*, ariſing from *negative* argument, will not deprive the finder of the advantages of his diſcovery. When an accident happens, ſays Mr. Malone, to a boat from the miſmanagement of a ſail, or the force of the wind, the boat is ſaid to be *over-turned* (*n*): No: ſailors, and philologers, would uſe, on ſuch an accident, the appropriate term, *overſet*, which means to *turn bottom* (*o*) *upwards*; but the word *overturn*, ſay Johnſon, and Aſh, means to throw down; to tople down; to ſubvert; to ruin; and, from Milton, to overpower; to conquer. He is not more lucky in his concluſion, where his obſervation is founded in fact, rather than philology:— "Here therefore," ſays he, "we find *an acci-* "*dent not very likely to happen on the Thames,* "*where we ſeldom have ſuch boiſterous waves,* "expreſſed by a word unknown in our lan- "guage for above a century afterwards (*p*)."

If we examine, however, the records of the drama, we ſhall find, that *the fact* does not

(*n*) Inquiry, 220. (*o*) See Johnſon, and Aſh, in *Voce*.

(*p*) Inquiry, 220.

warrant

warrant his concluſion. In the *Eaſtward Hoe* of Chapman, Johnſon, and Marſton, which was printed, in 1605, we may ſee, in the ſcenes of real life, "what prankes the Thames "plaies in her deſperate lunacy." Let us ſelect an example by way of illuſtration of the ſubject:—

Enter Drawer.

"Drawer: Sir Petronel; Here's one of your watermen come to tell you, it will be flood theſe three howeres; and that it will be dangerous gowing againſt the tide: For, the ſkie is overcaſt; and there was a porpiſce, even now ſeen at London-bridge, which is always the meſſenger of tempeſts, he ſayes.

Petronel: A porpiſce! what's that to th' purpoſe? Charge him, if hee love his life, to attend us: Can we not reach Blackwall (where my ſhip lies) againſt the tide, and in ſpight of tempeſts?—Captain Seagull; charge a boat.

Omnes: A boat, a boat, a boat. [*Exeunt.*

Drawer: Y'are in a proper taking indeed to take a boat; eſpecially at this time of night, and againſt tide, and tempeſt.

Enter Securitie.

Securitie: What, Winny! wife, I ſay! out of dores, at this time; where ſhould I ſeek the gadflie? She's gone with the Knight:—woe be to thee Billingſgate: *A boate, a boate, a boate, a full hundred marks, for a boat (q)!*

(*q*) In this dull parody on *Richard's horſe*, we ſee another malignant ſtroke of Ben Johnſon, at *gentle Shakſpeare*; which has not been generally obſerved.

The

The *porpiſce* was for once a true prophet as it ſeemeth. *Slitgut* entering with a *paire* of *oxe-hornes*, early in the morning, deſcribes what he beheld:

> Slitgut: Up then, Heaven, and St. Luke, bleſſe me, that I be not blown into the Thames, as I clime this tree, that *is all fruit and no leaves*, with this *furious tempeſt*. Lorde! what a coyle the Thames keeps; ſhe bears ſome unjuſt burden, I believe, that ſhe kicks, and curvets, thus, to caſt it: Heaven bleſſe all honeſt paſſengers, that are upon her back now; for, the bitte is out of her mouth, I ſee, and ſhee will run away with them. Oh me! here's a boate has been caſt away, hard by: Alas, alas, ſee one of her paſſengers labouring for his life.

We now perceive, in this dramatic hiſtory, that the Thames ſometimes heeps a *coyle*; that a furious tempeſt will ariſe, when *the porpoiſe* foretels it; that when drunken men, and naughty women, will take boat againſt the tide, and in ſpight of tempeſts, the rude Thames will "plaie prankes in her deſperate "lunacie." Here, is the very tempeſt, for aught that appears, which *upſet* Shakſpeare, which called forth the benevolence of Ireland, and which prompted Shakſpeare to exhibit a ſpecimen of his gratitude, in his deed of gift (*r*) to the never-to-be-forgotten ſaviour of his life.

But,

(*r*) Let no minute critic, in order to fix an anachroniſm on the face of this coincidence, remark, that *Eaſtward Hoe* was

But, the public accuſer will, however, be more lucky in his ſearch for the family of him, who, by ſaving Shakſpeare, gladdened life. *William Ireland* he eaſily finds; but, *William Henry* Ireland he cannot find. He beſtows much unſucceſsful pains "to ſhow "that in the beginning of the laſt century, "and long afterwards, perſons of the firſt "rank in England were *contented* with *one* "*Chriſtian name*, though this haberdaſher in "the Blackfriars has been decorated with "two (*s*)." The heirs apparent of the crown,

was printed, in 1605, or calculate, by an algebraical operation, that the year 1605, is ſubſequent to 1604: The fact is, that though *Eaſtward Hoe* was printed, in 1605, it was acted at the *Blackfriers* ſometime before, and the tempeſt muſt have ſet the Thames in a *coyle*, before the publiſhing, the acting, or the inditing of the comedie: For, as the *prologus* of it well obſerves; "ther's no effect, where ther's "no cauſe." The only difference, in thoſe coincident events, undoubtedly is, that the voyage of Petronel and Seagull was from Billingſgate to Blackwall, *downe* Thames; while the voyage of Shakſpeare and Ireland was *upp* Thames from Blackfryers to Batterſea. There is another coincidence, which is worthy of notice: Shakſpeare recites in his deed of gift; "having with mye goode freynde Maſterre Wil-"liam Henry Ireland, and otherres *tain boate*:" Now; in *Eaſtward Hoe* it is ſaid; "I believe yee were drown'd in a "tavern before, or els you would never have *toke boat*, in "ſuch a dawning as this was."

(*s*) Inquiry, 226-7-8-9.

Henry,

Henry, and Charles, he adds, could boaſt of no ſuch diſtinction (*t*). He means to ſtake his credit, as a philological antiquary, upon the aſſumption, that two *baptiſmal names* were *unprecedented*, in that age.

Now, upon this curious point of our archæology, I join iſſue with him. In the painfulneſs of his ſearch, he ſeems to have forgotten, that there is ſuch a book as *Camden's Remains:* He appears to have alſo forgotten, that Camden had already treated of this ſubject, with his uſual judgment, and modeſty. The various events of time produced, in the ſucceſſion of ages, a variety of names. Chriſtianity introduced the names of virtuous perſons, for the purpoſe of worthy example. Succeeding ages, little regarding the admonition of *the Fathers*, recalled names of unhappy diſaſter. The reformation brought in the baptiſmal appellations of Zachary, Malachy, Joſias, with other names of ſcriptural recommendation. During the reign of Elizabeth, it became cuſtomary in England, though not in other European nations, to give ſurnames for names of baptiſm. But, ſays Camden, " two *Chriſtian* names are *rare*, in " England: I only remember now his ma-

(*t*) Inquiry, p. 229.

" jeſty,

" jeſty, who was named Charles James, as " the prince his ſon, Henry Frederick; and, " among private men, Thomas Maria Wing- " field, and Sir Thomas Poſthumous Hob- " ley (*u*)." But, the fact is, that two Chriſtian names were not then *ſo rare*, as Camden, with his uſual circumſpection, conceived. On the 7th of May 1603, Thoms Pope Blount was knighted at Theobalds. In the ſecond charter, which King James, granted to the Virginia company, in 1609, among many perſons, Robert Earl of Saliſbury is the firſt, Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, is the ſecond, and Henry, Earl of Southampton, is the third, may be ſeen *Robert Hildebrand Sprinſon*, and *Edward Maria* Wingfield (*v*). In the council-regiſter, 1596, may be found Miles David Miles; and, in the regiſter of 1592, Watkin John Thomas. But, theſe inſtances are ſufficient to prove, that double names of baptiſm were not wholly *unprecedented*, in the age of Shakſpeare, and Ireland (*w*). And thus, have I reſcued

(*u*) I quote from the fourth impreſſion of Camden's Remains, in 1629: The firſt edition was publiſhed, I believe, in 1614.

(*v*) Stith's Hiſt. of Virginia, the Appx. N° ii.

(*w*) *Daw-bridge-court* Belchier publiſhed, in 1618, an interlude,

I rescued Camden, and the truth, from the critical claws of the public accuser. The critic has, indeed, retracted his assertion, with regard to Henry Frederick, the Prince of Wales (*x*). But, having once opened the window of his mind, he could not prevent the eyes of the curious from seeing the furniture within.

The public accuser will be more fortunate, perhaps, and not less persevering, in his next objection. The spelling, and phraseology, of Shakspeare's time was the Black*fryers*, says he, and not the Black*friars* (*y*). *Eastward Hoe*, which was published in 1605, was played in the Black*friers* by the children of her majesty's revels. In Wicklyffe's Treatise against the

interlude, called *Hans Beerpot:* But, how many names Mr. Belchier had, I know not. See the Rolls of Parliament, vol. iii. p. 400, for a very curious collection of names.

(*x*) In Birch's life of Prince Henry, p. 6-7-8, antiquaries had read the ceremonial of the baptism of Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick, the *heir* apparent of James 1st; which names being three times repeated by the bishop, were then proclaimed by the heralds, with the sound of trumpets; yet, the repetition of the bishop, the voice of the heralds, the clangor of the trumpets; all did not preserve the name of Henry Frederick, in *some memories.* From various autographs, it appears, that he usually subscribed his name *f. Henry. P.*

(*y*) Inquiry, 222.

order

order of (z) *friars*, which was printed, in 1668, may be ſeen *four* varieties, which preclude all pretence to uniformity of ſpelling, in Shakſpeare's time. Here again he fails in his objection.

The public accuſer, will now produce an objection, which, as he will doubtleſs maintain it by fact, rather than aſſertion, may not be eaſily anſwered. He quotes from the deed of gift, the following paſſage, for the ſake of the points; "for the which ſervice I doe "herebye give hym as followithe!!!" And, he adds, "No punctuation whatſoever is em-"ployed in deeds (*a*)." Nay; the deeds, which are publiſhed by himſelf, in his "In-"quiry," Appendix No. II, III, and IV,

(z) In p. 23, Friars; in p. 24, Friers; in p. 25, Fryers; and in p. 31, Fryars. John Leylande's *Laboryouſe Journey* was to be ſold, in 1549, at the ſign of the Crowne next unto the Whyte *Fryears*-gate. In Fenn's Letters we have Black *freyrs*, and Grey freers. In the Inquiry, 268, Mr. Malone reſumes this objection; ſaying that this word, or rather two words, was *conſtantly* written Black-fryers. Yet, in John Norden's map, 1593, we have Black friers, Whyte friers.—During thoſe times, we have in the council-regiſters, alternately, Blackfryars, and Blackfryers.

(*a*) Inquiry, 231: And as to theſe notes of admiration, he adds, "of which even the printed books of former times "furniſh no example." [See the note in p. 231.]

with regular punctuation, disprove his own assertion. The various instruments in West's *Symboleographie* are copiously pointed (*b*). If he mean to assert, that printed books of former times furnish no example of notes of admiration, his assertion will be found to be equally groundless. The Eastward Hoe of 1605 has points of admiration; *The Witch* of Middleton, during the same age, has notes of admiration: And, Shakspeare is not without notes of admiration (*c*). The public accuser thus

(*b*) The following contract, which is an original paper in my possession, is pointed thus: "Articles of agreement made "between the Right worshipful Sir John Hart and Sir "Richard Martin Knights and Aldermen of London for the "true payment of eight hundred pounds due unto the said "Sir John by the said Sir Richard: || In manner follow-"ing viz: ||" Here, then, are similar points to Shakspeare's, which flout at the groundless assertion of *no punctuation whatsoever is employed in deeds*. See this contract hereafter: and see a note of hand hereafter, which is also pointed in a similar manner. In 1613, Alexander Cooke, the player, wrote his last will with his *owne hand*; and pointed it in a similar manner: "Or whatsoever is mine in "all the world ||| This is my last will and testament | I "have set to my hand, Alex: Cooke :"

(*c*) Inquiry, p. 231: "O God of love! O day untoward-"ly turned! O mischief strangely thwarting! O plague right "well prevented!" [Much Ado About Nothing, 1600, in Steevens's twenty quarto plays.]

fails

fails egregiouſly, in objecting to points, and notes of admiration.

He is at laſt reſolved, after ſo many failures, to fail no more. The public accuſer now proceeds to tell us how Shakſpeare, had he ever mentioned his hiſtorical play of Henry the *fifth*, would have written it; not as we find it here, but *fift*, as he himſelf *unqueſtionably pronounced the word*; and as half the people of England pronounce it, at this day (*d*). What is this, but aſſuming to tell, what cannot now be told, how Shakſpeare ſpoke, and wrote the word fifth! Nor, does the irregular practice of the times warrant his aſſumption (*e*). And, of courſe, he once more fails in an objection, which was hazarded, with all the firmneſs of infallibility.

From ſuch topics, with regard to writing,

(*d*) Inquiry, 234-5.

(*e*) In Googe's *Zodiake of Life*, 1576, p. 61, we may ſee the *fifthe* booke; in the *Palace of Pleaſure*, vol. ii. the *fyfth* Novell; in the *Flowers of Eloquent ſpeech*, 1581, ſign. B. 1. cciiii. the *fifth* act; in Newton's Seneca, 1581, there is the *fifthe* tragedie and the *fifth* tragedy. In Florio's *Second Frutes*, 1591, we have, p. 65, the *fifth* chapter. In Drayton's poems, 1613, we have, in his *Baron's Wars*, the fifth booke. In the firſt edition of the play of Henry Vth, the word is accidentally fift: But, the ſecond folio edition of Shakſpeare's dramas, 1632, has *fifth*, and *fift*, alternately.

pointing, and conveyancing, we are plunged into the contentious *abyſs* of *copy-right*. The public accuſer diſputes the right of Shakſpeare to his own plays: Our poet, having already "ſold to the *theatre* the enumerated plays, "according to the conſtant practice of that "time, *had no property whatſoever in them* (*f*). Shakſpeare does not give to Ireland the right of *acting* his plays, which having already conveyed to *the theatre*, he does not pretend to reclaim. The right of *printing*, the poet ſtill reſerved, for aught that appears: Nor, will rights ever be ſuppoſed to be ſurrendered, till their conveyance be ſhown by documents. It is incontrovertibly certain, that Shakſpeare did poſſeſs, till his dying day, the right of printing his dramatic works (*g*). Heminge,

(*f*) Inquiry, 234.

(*g*) Hear what the firſt editors of his dramas, ſay upon the point, in oppoſition to Mr. Malone: "It had been a "thing, ſay they, in their Preface, worthie to have been "wiſhed, that the author had lived to ſet forth, and over "ſeene his owne writings; but ſince it hath been ordained "otherwiſe, and he, by death, departed from *that right*, we "pray you do not envy his friends the office of their care "and paine, to have *collected* and *publiſhed* them; and ſo to "have publiſht them, as where [before] you were abuſed "with divers ſtolne and ſurrepticious copies, maimed and "deformed by the frauds and ſtealths of injurious impoſtors, "that expoſed them."

and

and Condell, the firſt editors, acknowledge this right in him; and their *recognition* ought to prevent any editor of the preſent day, from aſſerting, in contradiction to it, that *he had no property whatſoever in his own writings*. Eight judges, with Lord Mansfield, at their head, were of opinion, that Shakſpeare had a right, a common-law right, in the productions of his own genius (*h*). *Sucking* lawyers, however, are of opinion, that the poet *had no right whatſoever*, in his own dramas; though it be admitted that, he did, in fact, ſell them, for a ſpecial purpoſe (*i*).

Yet; *would I knew that ſtroke would prove the worſt!* But, the public accuſer is ready to give a death's-blow to the deed of gift. "The indorſement before us, containing the "year of the king's reign in Engliſh, inſtead "of Latin, is a deciſive proof of forgery; "and the two words "2 *James*," are as fatal, "on the outſide as *William-Henry* are within "this inſtrument (*k*)." In this manner, is it ſhown, that the Engliſh ſcribble of Ireland, a haberdaſher, who kept a ſhop in the Black-friars, nullified his own deed (*l*). In con-

(*h*) Blackſt. Com. Edit. Chriſtian, vol. ii. p. 4.

(*i*) Inquiry, 236. (*k*) Ib. 237. (*l*) Ib. 222-4.

firmation of this doctrine, the public accuſer quotes *Co. Litt.* Hargrave's edit. to prove, that an obvious *anachroniſm* will prove the fraudulence of *a doubtful deed.* Littelton, Coke, and Hargrave, are authorities enow, to prove a ſelf-evident poſition. But, we are before the jury, upon queſtions of *fact.* The public accuſer has employed three *fifts* of his Inquiry to fix palpable anachroniſms upon the *Miſcellaneous Papers.* Four *fifths* of this Apology are occupied, ſucceſsfully, I truſt, in proving, that his pretended anachroniſms have neither ſolidity of argument, nor authenticity of fact, to ſupport them, in their premiſes, or concluſions. Thus much, then, for the "*unreal mockeries*" of the public accuſer (*m*).

We are now arrived, as it ſeems, "within "ſight of land." After diſpatching Shakſpeare's *tributary lines* to *Ireland*; the *view* of *Ireland's houſe*; and the *portraits* of *Baſſanio* and *Shylock*; we have only three or four *deeds* to examine (*n*).

With regard to the *tributary lines* of *Shakſpeare* to *Ireland*, the public accuſer aſſures us, on the ſincere word of an intelligent man, that there is not a young lady of fifteen, in Great Britain and Ireland, that would not, after reading her

(*m*) See Inquiry, 238. (*n*) Id.

† firſt

firſt novel, produce ſomething more in character. Of the competency of the miſſes in Great Britain, and in Ireland, I pretend not to judge: They are all, no doubt, *fairfac'd and forward for their years:* But, I will preſume, that a *bad joke*, even if expreſſed in terſer Engliſh, than the public accuſer's, does not amount to *good proof*, in any court of law, or court of criticiſm.

He is now determined to deface "the view "of Maſterre Irelande's houſe," by more ſubſtantial means, than a bad joke, inelegantly expreſſed. The only objection to it is, "that "the word *view*, in the ſenſe of a *delineation* "of any object, was unfortunately wholly *un-*"*known to our anceſtors* (*o*)." Yet, of the twelve ſenſes, which Johnſon aſſigns to the word *view*, the firſt ſenſe is *proſpect:* and, for this ſenſe, he quotes Shakſpeare's Cymbeline:—

"——— you ſhould tread a courſe
"*Pretty* and full of *view:*"———

Yet, ſays Mr. Malone, the word *view*, in this ſenſe, is ſo completely modern, that it is not found in any of the vocabularies, which I have mentioned in the courſe of this Inquiry (*p*). We

(*o*) Inquiry, 239.

(*p*) Inquiry, 240: He would not have hazarded this obſervation,

We now perceive, from *this view*, that Mr. Malone looks into *vocabularies*, and not into the body of our language, for his examples. If he will allow me, I will quote a book, which he certainly has in his library, and which will doubtleſs give him ſatisfaction: See Malone's Shakſpeare, 1790, vol. i. part i. p. 80: "A *view* of Valiaunce, tranſlated from "Rutilius Rufus, by Thomas Newton 1580:" And yet, ſays Mr. Malone, the word *view*, as now uſed for *proſpect* came to us from the French, in the beginning of the preſent century (*q*). But, of ſuch hallucinations enough! His apology is, that thoſe fabrications were founded on archetypes, which were furniſhed by the edition of Shakſpeare, publiſhed in (*r*) 1790, [by himſelf].

Of

ſervation, if he had looked into *Leigh's Science of Surveying*, 1577, Sign. I. 1.; wherein he would have been inſtructed, "How a ſurveyor ſhould take a perfecte *view* of a man-"nour;" and, in the ſubſequent page, he might have ſeen; "The towne of Dale; *the view* of the Mannour of Dale; "taken the x. day of May, the xiiii yere of the raign of "King Henry the eight."

(*q*) Inquiry, 241.

(*r*) In fact, Johnſon regards *view*, in one of its ſenſes, as a *proſpect*; and *proſpect*, as a *view*: They are ſo ſynonimous, that neither he, nor Aſh, can eaſily ſeparate their various ſhades

Of the prints of *Baſſanio*, and *Shylock*, he pretends not to judge: But, he *believes* them to be ſpurious; as he has been told, "they "are manifeſtly waſhed drawings of a recent "date." Here again he fails; unleſs we admit his belief for proof; and allow ourſelves to be convinced of fraud; becauſe he is now willing, from *hearſay to let belief take hold of him.*

In this believing mood, the public accuſer examines the *agreement* between *Shakſpeare* and *Lowine* (*s*). This contract comes into court, like other deeds, with every fair appearance of unſuſpicious genuineneſs. The ſolemnities, which accompany it, bring with them all the probabilities of truth: And, this contract, being an ancient deed, muſt be admitted, in every court of criticiſm, as it would be, in every court of common-law, to prove itſelf, from the energies of its own evidence.

ſhades of ſignification: Yet, Mr. Malone can do this, ſo nicely, that he may exclaim with John Derrick, in *The Image of Ireland*, a poem, *deviſed* by him, in 1578, and publiſhed in 1581:—

"Lo Lordynges! here the *draught*,
"Sett out in *open vewe*:
"For, by inſtructions, I am taught,
"Falſe forgynges to eſchewe."

(*s*) Inquiry, 244.

Yet,

Yet, is the public accuſer ready to *bring forward* his ſpecial objections, which he will make out, with the clearneſs of demonſtration, and ſupport, with the firmneſs of truth. His firſt objection is to the expreſſion *bring forward*, which is daily ſeen, at breakfaſt, in the play bills; but, he leaves it to "*the partiſans* "*of theſe manuſcripts*" to aſcertain how *ancient* this expreſſion was firſt brought forward (*t*). The wit, the logic, the demonſtration of his thruſt ſends it through and through: But, he will kill outright with his ſecond thruſt. The name of *Lowin* was never written Lowine, as it is exhibited in this deed (*u*): Yet, with the ſame daſh of his pen, he produces a document, which proves, that there was no uniformity in the ſpelling of Lowine's (*v*) name; and, conſequently, if there were *no rule*, there could be

(*t*) Inquiry, 245. (*u*) Inquiry, 250.

(*v*) "Lent unto John *Lowyn*, the 12th March 1602, when "he went into the contrey to playe v ſhillings." Inquiry, 250; which quotes Henſlowe's MS. Regiſter:—I think I have ſeen the name of this perſonage in the council-regiſters of the 15 March 1589-90, ſpelled *Lauhon*. The name, however, may have been John Lanham; as there is a blur in the book. And in a liſt of the Lord Chamberlain's warrants, 1632, in the paper office, he is called *Lowen*. It is then, abſurd, to found an objection on an *uniformity of ſpelling*, which did not, in fact, exiſt.

no

no deviation. Speak on, Sir; I dare your worſt objections! He goes on to object, that in 1608, the epoch of this agreement with Shakſpeare, *Lowine* was low in his profeſſion, and poor, in his circumſtances: And, from theſe facts, he infers the improbability of his hiring himſelf to Shakſpeare. In confirmation of this inference, he (*w*) aſſerts, that *Lowine*, "without doubt, had a half ſhare, or ſome "other portion of one, even in 1608 (*x*):" And, from this aſſertion, he infers this to be "a fatal circumſtance for the deed before us." Nay; if you will but allow the public accuſer his *ſtand* and his *lever*, he will overſet *the great globe itſelf*. He now takes his ſtand, with his lever; and he produces a genuine ſtage con-

(*w*) Inquiry, 253.

(*x*) If we may believe the date on his picture, Lowin, was born in 1576; and he died on the 8th of March 1658-9. In the ſad period, which intervened, Lowin partook of the various misfortunes of the times: From the loweſt commencement as a player, about the year 1600, he roſe, in thirty years, to the top of his profeſſion: In 1632, there were iſſued, "To Jo. *Lowen* and the reſt of the players for acting "twenty four plays; three at £.20. a piece, and twenty one "at £.10. a piece—£.270." [A liſt of the Lord Chamberlain's warrants in the paper-office.] From this document it clearly appears, that the ſettled price, which was paid in 1632, for acting a play at Hampton-court was £.20, and at Whitehall £.10.

tract

tract of this very period, that he ſays, "ren-
"ders it quite unneceſſary to ſay more on
"this part of the ſubject (*y*):" Yet, this *ſtage contract* is not between the ſame parties; nor does it contain any fact, circumſtance, or point, which bears upon the agreement between Shakſpeare and Lowine. As if an anachroniſm had been fixed in this agreement, with the certainty of a ſtroke of death, we are told, that "this true ſtage contract is as de-
"ciſive a proof of the forgery as can be con-
"ceived (*z*)." Thus, eaſily, doth our Archimedes *upſet* the agreement between Shakſpeare and Lowine! Yet, is he determined to overturn this agreement by additional proofs of its forgery: The fabricator has introduced into this contract the word *compoſition*, as deſcriptive of a written work; which he believes *it did not then ſignify* (*a*): Spenſer, indeed has the word, for the act of compoſing a work; but the higheſt authority, Dr. Johnſon could find for *compoſition*, with the ſignification of *a book*, is L'Eſtrange (*b*). As if conſcious of ſome

(*y*) Inquiry, 254. (*z*) Ib. 256. (*a*) Ib. 256.

(*b*) Ib. 257: Mr. Malone is continually talking of what Dr. Johnſon *could find*; as if our great lexicographer had ever looked for the preciſe age of words; or had ever given himſelf

ſome deficiency, he faintly acknowledges the *impoſſibility* of proving a [an] *univerſal negative:* But, he apprehends, he has *brought forward* ſuch evidence; as, having the appearance of truth, may be received as ſuch, till ſome of his opponents ſhall produce the *conteſted words*, from a book of Shakſpeare's age. When he finds the oar too weighty for his own handling, he conſtantly attempts to put it into the hands of his opponents. At this oar, will I tugg, when he ſhall have *ſatisfied reaſonable inquirers*, that there is any logic in begging the queſtion; or that proof is contained in aſſertion; or that a thouſand fictions, how nicely ſo ever tacked together, by inſinuations, and ſuppoſes, amount to one truth.

In this abſurd ſtrain it is, that he draws the attention to Maſter Lowine's *ſeal* (*c*). He ſhrewdly ſuſpects, that, by the help of Herſ-

himſelf any further trouble about words, than taking the neareſt at hand, which anſwered his purpoſe. Had the Doctor, or Mr. Malone, looked into Barret's *Alvearie*, 1580, in vo. *Compacte*, they would have found *compoſition* for *verborum ſtructura*, *placing* or *compacting* of *wordes togither:* Yet, our inquirer ſuppoſes, that this word, in the ſenſe of a book, came to us from the French about *the Reſtoration.* [Inquiry, 258.]

(*c*) Inquiry, 259.

chel's

chel's magnifiers, may be perceived, a well-formed head of ſome of our Saxon monarchs, which may have been copied from the engravings of (*d*) *Virtue*: [Vertue he ſhould have ſaid (*e*).] With the aſſiſtance of the logical ſpectacles of Watts, or Locke, I wot no which, he diſcovers, that the want of a *creſt* and *cypher*, on the ſeal of Lowine, is an undoubted proof of forgery, in an agreement, to which is appended a *fancy ſeal*. Diſcoveries lead to diſcoveries. The clear *view*, which, by Herſchel's help, we have thus had of Lowine's ſeal, will enable the biographer of Shakſpeare to diſcover, with leſs powers of magnifying, whether our great poet had an appropriate ſeal. That he had not is certain, from incontrovertible evidence (*f*). If Shakſpeare had not an appropriate ſeal, with either *ſpeare in bend*, or a *creſt* and *cypher*, what could we expect from Lowine, low, and poor, as he is ſtated to have been?

(*d*) Inquiry, 259.

(*e*) See Lord Orford's Cat. of Engravers from the MSS. of Mr. George *Ver*tue.

(*f*) See Mal. Shak. 1790. vol. i. part i. p. 192-3, the ſignature and ſeal of Shakſpeare's mortgage: The impreſſion of the ſeal is H L, with an *Etoile ſurmounted*, as the heralds have it.

The

The public accuſer, in attending to the ſeal, had almoſt forgot to object, that to this agreement, Shakſpeare had ſubjoined, in a new mode of contraction, his baptiſmal name *Willam:* But, has he not ſubſcribed *Willm* to his will (*g*)? Mr. Malone has not yet diſcovered, amid his other diſcoveries, as it ſeemeth, that there are forgeries, which cannot be detected by candid diſcuſſion. In this happy land, every forger, in whatſoever manner ſuſpected, accuſed, or proſecuted, has a fair trial, and is convicted by *legal* evidence only, or acquitted. The public accuſer ſeems to ſhow, by the number, and nature, of his objections, that, if fair means fail, while he *racks the ſcribble* with Bacon, he rather would *torture* the *ſcribbler* with Elizabeth.

In this ſpirit, is the public accuſer determined that, "Bitter torture ſhall winnow the "truth from falſhood." He now applies *the queſtion* to the *agreement* between *Shakſpeare* and Condel (*h*). His firſt objection is, that this contract is extremely ſimilar to the ſtage contracts of that age. With the ſame kind of logic, he objects, that Condel was a *ſharer* in the profits of the houſe, and not a *hireling*,

(*g*) Ib. See the plate facing the will of Shakſpeare: And ſee, before, the plate, facing p. 224.

(*h*) Inquiry, 260.

for

for wages: But, this is ſaid, without conſidering, that this agreement is of a ſpecial nature; not to act in general, but to perform in particular plays of the compoſition, not of Shakſpeare, but of *others*. Here again the *queſtion* is unſucceſsful, in extorting the truth. In this extremity, he reſumes his objection to the word *compoſition*; as being unuſual, during that age, in the ſignification of *writing* (*i*). But, he does not reflect, that the repetition of objections, which have been already ſhown to be groundleſs, is not likely to be more ſucceſsful. Once more, then, *the queſtion* fails, in extorting a confeſſion. Thinking, no doubt, that an accumulation of bad objections will form one good objection, he ſuſpects, that the ſalary of *one pound one ſhilling* a week favours much of a modern guinea. According to this rule of accumulation, he objects "to "the pretty fiction of a trim boar's head;" being intended to paſs for Shakſpeare's ſeal: But, it has been already proved, that our poet did not uſe any appropriate ſeal. In this ſtrain of logic, he objects to Condel's ſignature, without having any autograph, wherewith to confront it; or any circumſtance, to oppoſe it; unleſs we admit conjectures, and

(*i*) Inquiry, 261.

ſuppoſes,

ſuppoſes, as circumſtantial evidence. In ſuperaddition to all this accumulated teſtimony, he ſtates the *Engliſh indorſement* on the agreement, as *very curious*; and the unneceſſary *th* after the 20, as *very ſuſpicious* (*k*). After all theſe experiments of the *queſtion*, the culprit remains firm, and denies in the confident tone of innocence the imputed guilt. Little diſtruſting the efficacy of *bitter torture* to enforce inſtant confeſſion, the public accuſer,—

" Aſtoniſh'd at the voice, now ſtood amaz'd,
" And all around, with inward horror, gaz'd."

It is BECCARIA, who, with mathematical preciſion, propoſes the following problem, in law logic: " The force of the muſcles, and " the ſenſibility of the nerves of an innocent " perſon being given; it is required to find " the degree of pain, which is neceſſary to " make him confeſs himſelf guilty of a given " crime." This problem is very ingeniouſly ſolved, by the public accuſer, in examining Shakſpeare's *leaſe to Michael Fraſer and his wife* (*l*). He at the ſame time, incidentally ſolves a ſupplemental problem; what degree of fatigue is neceſſary to make the beholder of ſuch torture expreſs impatience, at its mode, its matter, and its duration.

(*k*) Inquiry, 264-5. (*l*) Inquiry, 265.

In ſolving thoſe problems, his firſt objection to this *leaſe* is, that "it is a motley maſs "of trum*pery* (*m*)." From ſuch *ſyllogiſtick trumpery*, he proceeds, in his ſecond objection, to ſcoff at thoſe "ingenious, intelligent, and "diſintereſted, perſons," who conſidered an ancient deed, as admiſſible proof, *prima facie*; who regarded the parchment, the ſeals, and ſignatures, as ſufficient evidence, either external, or internal, to eſtabliſh a ſtrong preſumption, which, according as it is conſiſtent with probable circumſtances, muſt enforce a ſatisfactory conviction of the truth.

But, *this* conviction, ariſing from thoſe circumſtances, and that preſumption, the public accuſer proceeds to overturn, by minute examination, and demonſtrable facts. The firſt point of his minute examination conſiſts, in objecting to the deſcription of the demiſed premiſes, which, he thinks, is too indiſtinct; being ſix acres and a half of land, *abutting cloſe* to the Globe theatre, *by Blackfryers*. Thus, the Globe theatre is the land-mark, which, being aſcertained, fixes the poſition of the contiguous parts. I have already ſettled the true ſite of the Globe, with mathematical preciſion, to be on the *Bankſide*, within the

(*m*) Inquiry, 265.

liberty

liberty of the Clink, in Southwark. But, is this poſition *by* Blackfryers? The anſwer to this queſtion muſt be given, according to the notions, which were affixed, by the parties, to the prepoſition *by*:—Among many other ſenſes, Johnſon ſays, from Shakſpeare himſelf, that it denotes beſide; near to; in preſence; proximity in general (*n*): And, in the language of the poſt-office, *by* is underſtood to mean neighbourhood; ſo letters directed to John Styles, reſiding at St. Peter's *by* Margate, would be very intelligible to all the ſorters, and carriers of the poſt-office, without the help of a critical vocabulary. But, the public accuſer will ſhow nicer diſcrimination, in his next objection: "The phraſe abutting *to* "[which is] here employed, is unknown to "our language, *abutting upon* having been "invariably the legal and colloquial lan-"guage from the time of Shakſpeare to this "hour (*o*)." He who objects, with critical

(*n*) In Hollar's map of London, which was engraved at Antwerp, in 1647, *the Globe* is placed exactly on the ſite of the preſent Albion Mills; *abutting cloſe* to Blackfryers-bridge. It may be of uſe to thoſe artiſts, who may hereafter wiſh to give an engraved view of *the Globe*, to obſerve, that Hollar adorned *the flag*, which was diſplayed therefrom, with the *croſs* of *St. George*.

(*o*) Inquiry, 268.

malignity, to *bad* Engliſh, ought himſelf to write *good:* And he, who has any critical candour, ought not to change a phraſe, for the purpoſe of objection. The criticiſm will vaniſh, when the real words are diſcovered, as falſhood vaniſhes at the appearance of truth. The genuine phraſe of Shakſpeare is "*abutting cloſe* to the Globe." In this ſignification of *cloſe*, as joined, without any intervening diſtance of time, or place; the Engliſh idiom, and uſe, required cloſe *to:* "We muſt "lay aſide, ſays (*p*) Burnet, that lazy, and "fallacious method of cenſuring by the lump, "and muſt bring things *cloſe to* the teſt of "*true*, or *falſe*."

The public accuſer will, doubtleſs, be more lucky in his next objection. "It is obſerva-"ble, ſays (*q*) he, that in this deed, Black-"fryers is ſpelt rightly." He had before, as we may recollect, objected to the erroneous ſpelling of Blackfryars. Our *Procruſtes* is now determined, it ſeems, that this unlucky word ſhall be neither too long, nor too ſhort; neither right, nor wrong.

In this ſpirit, the public accuſer appeals from criticiſm to fact. Affecting difficulties in aſcertaining, on which ſide of the Thames

(*p*) Theory. (*q*) Inquiry, 267.

the

the demiſed premiſes lay, whether on the Bankſide, or in Blackfriars, he takes a *view* of both. He admits, that there certainly was in Southwark, ſome ground, unoccupied by buildings, in (*r*) 1596; but, he aſſerts, that the unoccupied ground lay more to the weſtward than the *Globe*.

Yet, let us confront what he admits, and what he retracts, with the accurate account, which is given by the hiſtorians of St. Saviour's pariſh; who, living on the ſpot, muſt neceſſarily know the local circumſtances of what they daily ſee: "We will, however, "give the general ſtate of the Bankſide, as "we have pretty accurately collected it, from "the year 1600: From various *title-deeds*, "and other written documents, now extant, "and without any reference to what has "been written by others on the ſubject, we "hazard not to aſſert, that *the Bankſide* was "in a great meaſure gardens, orchyards, and "in general an open, but cultivated, ſpot (*s*)."

Nevertheleſs,

(*r*) Inquiry, 269.

(*s*) Concanen and Morgan's *Hiſtory and Antiquities of the pariſh of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1795, p. 191. The hiſtorians of the place might have appealed to the pariſh-regiſters, which confirm the truth of their repreſentation. They might have relied on Norden's map of London, 1593, for

Nevertheleſs, ſays the public accuſer, at an earlier period of the reign of Elizabeth, the ground, near where the Globe ſtood, ſeems *to have been almoſt all occupied*, though I do not doubt, there may have been then ſome ſmall gardens in that quarter (*t*). He forgets, that in 1575, the pariſhioners of St. Saviour's had a park, from which they agreed to ſend two loads of the firſt cut hay to the Queen's barns at Greenwich (*u*). As little does he recollect, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter had *a park* which, *after the reſtoration*, was formed into Redcroſs-ſtreet, Queen-ſtreet, Duke-ſtreet, Ewer-ſtreet, Worceſter-ſtreet, and Caſtle-ſtreet (*v*). And, there is a ſtreet, near *the brewhouſe*,

ſhowing, that there was a long row of tenements on *the Bankſide*, from the bridge, with gardens behind them. [And ſee Strype's London, vol. ii. p. 7.]

(*t*) Inquiry, 269.

(*u*) The pariſh-regiſter, 12th June 1575. This regiſter ſhows, that the pariſh-officers had, in thoſe times, many tenements, with gardens behind them, to let, along the *Bankſide*.

(*v*) See Tyler's Antiq. of St. Saviour's, 1765. p. 50-51. And ſee the charter of Edward 6th. to the corporation of London, dated the 23d April 1550, in Concanen and Morgan's Hiſtory, p. 8—21, for the large parcels of vacant ground, within that pariſh, which were then granted to the city.

brewhouſe, and *the windmill*, which is called, to this day, *the Park*, and will, from this time, be remembered with the Globe theatre; ſhowing, by the coincidence of the name, that the *Globe* was probably built in, or *cloſe to*, one of the *parks* of Elizabeth's reign. After this full expoſition, the public accuſer exclaims, with a very illogical grace: "till ſuch an ancient "building as the Globe theatre by Black-friars "ſhall be proved to have exiſted in the reign "of James the firſt, together with ſix acres and

city. In tracing the progreſs of *building*, within three miles of London, we ought to advert to the various obſtructions, which the law oppoſed to new erections. For this end; Queen Elizabeth iſſued a proclamation againſt new erections, in 1580. [Ander. Com. vol. i. p. 421.] In 1593, was paſſed the ſtatute of the 35th Eliz. ch. 6, prohibiting new buildings within three miles of the city gates: and proſecutions were inſtituted in the ſtar-chamber againſt the offenders. In 1602, Elizabeth enforced this law, by a freſh proclamation. [Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 448.] Puttenham, in his *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, p. 216, when illuſtrating the fault of *overlabour*, gives the following paſſage from *one of our late makers*, whoſe intent was, to declare, how upon the tenth day of March, he croſſed the river of Thames, to walk in St. George's field:

"The tenth of March when Aries received
"Dan Phœbus' raies into his horned head;
"And I myſelfe by learned lore perceived,
"That Ver approcht and frosty Winter fled,
"I croſt the Thames to take the cheerefull aire,
"In *open fields*, the weather was ſo faire."

" an half adjoining to it, this deed muſt ſhare " the ſame fate with the reſt (*w*):" That is, it muſt be tortured, in the bed of Procruſtes.

From making his ſurvey, on the *Bankſide*, which ſurvey is, we perceive, contradicted in its outline, by hiſtory, and record, the public accuſer proceeds to take a *view* of Blackfriars (*x*). " There were, he admits, in that " diſtrict ſome void ſpaces certainly: but in " general on the eaſt ſide of Fleet ditch " (where the theatre ſtood) was almoſt wholly " occupied by houſes." I pretend not to aſcertain, with algebraical accuracy, the exact quantity of vacant ground, which was ſtill open for buildings, in 1610. It is ſufficiently certain, from the repreſentations of (*y*) maps, and the notices of record, that there were, even in the Blackfriars, conſiderable parcels of vacant ground, which might have been occupied, either by the gardener, or the builder (*z*).

Having

(*w*) Inquiry, 270-1. (*x*) Ib. 269.

(*y*) See Aggas's map of London, engraved, in 1737, by Vertue, for the Antiquary Society; and the re-engraved map of London, and Weſtminſter, as they were in 1563.

(*z*) In the council-regiſter, of the 18th Auguſt 1618, there may be ſeen " A liſt of buildings and new foundations, " ſince 1615." It is therein ſaid, " That Edward Allen " Eſq^r

Having taken this *view*, which does not exhibit much reſearch, nor enforce ſtrong conviction, the public accuſer adverts to *the leaſe*. He finds it difficult to decide, whether the draughtſman ſhows the moſt ignorance, the worſe ſpelling, or the greateſt incongruity of fiction, with the hiſtory, and manners of the time (*a*). Theſe had been plauſible objections, if he could have ſupported them by proof. He immediately adds, what he will, doubtleſs, prove by authority: "Even the "draughtſman's *law* is all *falſe* (*b*)." In proof of this poſition, he produces ſome redundant expreſſions. But, if *ſurpluſage* would vacate a deed, what deed could be defended? He ſtrengthens his poſition, by ſuggeſting, that this leaſe is not very ſkilfully drawn, nor its ſolemnities very accurately executed. Yet, it may be pertinently aſked, whether obſervation, and fact, warrant this objection? The moſt experienced judges have often re-

"Eſq^r dwelling at Dulwich [the well known player, and "munificent founder of Dulwich college] hath built ſix "tenements of timber upon new foundations, within two "years paſſed, in Swan-alley, near *the Wardrobe*." In 1618, King James followed the example of Elizabeth, in iſſuing a proclamation againſt new buildings. [Rym. Fœd. tom. xvii. p. 117.]

(*a*) Inquiry, 271. (*b*) Id.

marked,

marked, that forgeries are ſure to be preciſely adjuſted, judiciouſly drawn, and legally executed. In fact, there is no *falſe law* in the leaſe, if we except ſuperfluity of expreſſion, unſkilfulneſs of penmanſhip, and ignorance of forms. But, at laſt, it will be found not to be defective in legal ſolemnities, like thoſe aſſurances, and wills, which are ſometimes executed, without the requiſites, that poſitive ſtatutes require.

In this ſtrain of juriſprudential criticiſm, the public accuſer remarks, with the acuteneſs of Coke, that this leaſe concludes, with "Anno Dom. (1610); which is not the abre-"viation of the time, but either Anno Dñi., "or A. Dñi., or An. Dñi. (*c*)." Thus, by ſhowing theſe varieties, in the concluſion of deeds, he tries to maintain his objection to the want of a ſuppoſed uniformity, according to the real practice of the time; yet, he himſelf proves, by inſtancing the varieties, that his ſuppoſed uniformity did not in fact exiſt;

(*c*) Inquiry, 275: Had he looked into Weſt's *Symboleographie*, which he ſometimes quotes, he would have ſeen *An. Do.* in ſect. 530; *Anno* xxiiii *Dom.* noſtræ reginæ Elizabethæ; and Anno Dom. 1590, in ſect. 653.—We ſee, from this accurate authority, that the public accuſer is unfounded, in his aſſumption of the fact; and, conſequently, is unwarranted, in the confidence of his concluſion.

as

as we have ſeen in the *Symboleographie* of Weſt. But, the public accuſer thinks it prudent to juſtify his peculiar mode of criticiſm, by quoting a remark of Pope; who, when ſpeaking of the early publiſhers of Shakſpeare's dramas, obſerves, that their French is as bad as their Latin, and even their very *Welch is falſe* (*d*). The *falſe Welch* of Pope, who was, no doubt, as profound a critic in the Welch, as he was in the Greek, like the *falſe law* of the public accuſer, is more eaſily ſtated, than fully proved.

He is now about to diſpatch the culprit, by giving him the death-blow; and to diſmiſs the ſpectators, by freeing them from pain, at the ſame ſtroke. "Our poet at length leaves "the ſcrivener in the lurch, ſays (*e*) he, with "enigmatical obſcurity, by ſubſcribing his "name to this deed, in plain and legible "characters, William Shakſpeare;" and he might have added, with full as much brilliancy of wit, and cogency of proof, *as our poet ſubſcribed his will.* An *error of the preſs* is finally (*f*) objected, like the laſt, but incomplete, ſtroke of the executioner, which leaves the head adhering to the body, by the

(*d*) Inquiry, 271. (*e*) Ib. 276. (*f*) Ib. 275.

ſkin.

ſkin. After ſuffering the torture of ſuch criticiſms on the *leaſe* to Fraſer, Shakſpeare might, with Coriolanus, exclaim:

" ——————— Preſent me
" Death on the wheel, or at wild horſes heels;
" Or pile ten hills, on the Tarpeian rock,
" That the precipitation might down ſtretch
" Below the beam of ſight; yet, will I ſtill
" Be thus to them."

The deed of truſt to John Hemynge is, it ſeems, "the laſt legal inſtrument preſented to "us, in this *new* ANTHOLOGY."—Were we to enquire of Johnſon the meaning of the *word*, which ſeems here a little miſplaced, even when taken ironically, he would anſwer; a *collection* of *flowers*, a collection of *devotions* in the Greek church; a *collection* of *poems*. All former abſurdities muſt now, it ſeems, yield the palm to this ſuperior abſurdity: The thick-ſet *Cimmerian darkneſs* being bright ſunſhine, he adds, in well-ſupported metaphor, with the *vapid nonſenſe* of this fabrication (*g*). When the Cimmerian

(*g*) Inquiry, 276. In the ſubſequent page, we have the following clear, and conſiſtent paſſage: Shakſpeare is deſcribed in the genuine deed "as of Stratford upon Avon, "*from whence* I am inclined to believe that he had then re-"tired from the ſtage." Johnſon explodes *from* whence, as a *vitious mode of ſpeech:* But, had the unidiomatical *from* been forgotten, the *inference* would have been ungrammatically

Cimmerian cloud has paſſed over him, the public accuſer is left in bright ſunſhine to obſerve, that Stratford *on* Avon is ſuſpiciouſly written for Stratford *upon* Avon; as if *uniformity* had been ſtudied in the childhood of orthography (*h*).

But, however incredible it may be, that Shakſpeare ſhould not know how to ſpell the name of his birth-place, the public accuſer, thinks it *utterly incredible*, that he, who was *a bit of* an attorney, who had a couſin an attorney, who had a friend an attorney, ſhould tranſmit to poſterity ſuch a malevolent and unfounded ſtigma, on a moſt uſeful and honourable profeſſion (*i*). The public accuſer

cally drawn. To have made the paſſage good Engliſh, the critic ought to have ſaid, from *which deſcription*, "I am inclined to believe." It is to be remembered, that we are now upon a chapter of *vapid nonſenſe*; which might be extended, through all the mazes of *Cimmerian darkneſs*, to a moſt tireſome length.

(*h*) In the council-regiſter of the 18th of March 1618, the birth-place of Shakſpeare is ſpelt *Stratford-upo-Avon*;—*Stratford-upon-Haven:* In Speed's map of Warwickſhire, 1610, this never-to-be-forgotten town, is called *Stretford* upon *Auen*; and, it is ſimply called *Stretford*, in Saxton's map of 1576. In the *Index* to Howe's chronicle, Mr. Malone might have ſeen *his ſuſpicion* realized: "Stratford *on* "Auon burnt, when, and how, 1004, 1, 36."

(*i*) Inquiry, 280.

ſupports

ſupports his poſition in his uſual manner; by reaſoning againſt fact, and declaiming againſt argument. Does, then, Shakſpeare never ſcoff at the law, and lawyers? "The bloody book "of law you ſhall yourſelf read in the bitter "letter (*k*)."

With all this knowledge of law, and lawyers, in his mind, Shakſpeare thought fit to leave his matters in none of their hands, but to

(*k*) "Reſolution thus fobb'd as it is, with the ruſty curb "of old *father Antick*, *the law*."—Henry 6.

"The ſtate of law is bond ſlave to the law."—Richard 2.

"To give fear to uſe and liberty, which have for long "run by the *hideous law*."—Meaſure for Meaſure.

"When *law* can do no *right*, let it be *lawful*, that *law* "bar *no wrong*."—King John.

"In *law* what a *plea* ſo *tainted* and *corrupt*, but being "ſeaſon'd with a gracious voice, obſcures the ſhow of evil." —Merchant of Venice.

"Do, as adverſaries in *law*, ſtrive mightily, but eat, and "drink, as friends."—Taming of the Shrew.

"The firſt thing we do, lets kill *all* the lawyers."—Henry 6.

"Crack the *lawyer's* voice, that he may never more falſe "title plead."—Timon of Athens.

"It is like the breath of an *unfee'd lawyer*."—Hamlet.

"O'er *lawyer's* fingers, who ſtraight dream of fees."—Romeo and Juliet.

"Why may not that be the ſcull of a lawyer? where be "his quiddits now."—Romeo and Juliet.

truſt

truſt his *tried friend* John (*l*) Hemynge; a circumſtance this, which, for want of better evidence, is deemed a ſtrong proof of forgery. The public accuſer will immediately give a clue, to enable us to find our way out of this labyrinth of *folly* and *impoſture*. This *clue*, which is thus to conduct us through this *nonſenſical* labyrinth, conſiſts, in ſuppoſing the very point to be proved. "This inſtrument "was made," he ſays, "with a view at the "ſame time to cover and give ſome collateral "ſtrength and authenticity, not only to the "lock of hair, love letters, and pictures al-"ready noticed, but to all ſuch trumpery of "the ſame kind as the credulity of the town "at any future period might digeſt (*m*)."

All

(*l*) It is a curious fact, that *John Hemynge* was appointed by Auguſtin Phillips, another fellow player, one of the overſeers of his will; and the widow having married, contrary to the teſtamentary wiſh of Phillips, Hemynge proved the will, on the 16th of May 1607, and had adminiſtration granted to him. It is a remarkable coincidence, that he is called Hemynge in the will. [See the will, and the probat, which was ſuppoſed not to exiſt, in the prerogative office. And ſee a copy of the will which is hereinafter printed.] It appears, from every circumſtance, that John Hemynge was altogether truſt-worthy; being an active, buſtling, diſcreet, honeſt, man.

(*m*) Inquiry, p. 283.—As we are ſtill in a chapter of *non-*

ſenſe,

All this, it is eaſy to ſay, even in terſer Engliſh; but is not ſo eaſy to prove; as his *pains is ſorted to no proof.*

Paſſing over the orthography, which, as it had no uniformity, can furniſh no objection againſt its uniformity, the public accuſer goes on to conſider the inſtrument itſelf. This was called, by Shakſpeare, *a deed of gift*, to be executed after his death; it is improperly called, by the editor of the Miſcellaneous Pa-

ſenſe, which, however tedious, is uſeful for its examples, it may be proper to aſk the meaning of ſome doubtful paſſages: "1ſt, Theſe obſervations [which were] naturally "ſuggeſted by Shakſpeare, and ſtated in *the edition* which I "had the honour to preſent to the public."—Edition of what? of the will; or of the works of Shakſpeare?—2dly, "At the ſame time to *cover* and give ſome collateral "ſtrength:" To cover what? To cover collateral ſtrength; to cover authenticity? The verb has here no ſubject.—3dly, "As the *credulity* of the town might digeſt:"—Credulity digeſt trumpery! What a maw credulity muſt have! He probably meant to ſay; credulity might be made to digeſt; or might be able to digeſt. In the Inquiry, p. 293, we have it, "as well as many others prove" [proves;] in p. 295, we ſee "the Blackfriars and Globe theatre" [theatres;] in p. 296, "he is ſomewhat niggard [niggardly] of his praiſe." This chapter on the *deed of truſt* is particularly remarkable for uncommon ſpecimens of ſuch *Cimmerian* phraſeology; which furniſh additional proofs of the truth of that well-known axiom:

"Great wits ſometimes may glorioufly offend,
"And riſe to faults true critics dare not mend."

§ pers,

pers, *a deed of truſt*; and it is denominated, by the public accuſer, with his greater knowledge of law, a *codicil:* Yet; "this CODICIL to *an unmade will* ſurely ſurpaſſes," he ſays, "any inſtance of ſecond ſight that "ever has been recorded in Scotland (*n*)." One aſſertion may be anſwered by another; leaving the wit, and propriety, of both, to future conſideration. It may be affirmed, that this remark of his ſurpaſſes any inſtance of HALLUCINATION, which has ever been recorded in Ireland. The public accuſer again opens one of the windows of his mind, for a moment. We diſcover, however, from this opening, his law opinion to be, that there cannot be a *codicil without* a teſtament. On the contrary, I maintain, that every written declaration of any perſon's mind, with regard to what he will have done with his goods, and chattels, after his death, without appointing an executor, is *a codicil:* For, a codicil is the ſame as a laſt will, excepting that *it is without an executor*. Several codicils, any fit perſon may make, without making a will: Why ſhould I quote Swinburn to prove what every *fucking* lawyer underſtands (*o*). Nay, a *teſtamentary*

(*n*) Inquiry, 284.

(*o*) Swinburn on Wills, part i. ſ. 5. and ſee "A *Codicil* "before

mentary ſchedule, without witneſſes, or an executor, has been declared to be a will (*p*). Now, *the deed* of Shakſpeare, whether it be deemed a codicil, or a will, if he had not made a ſubſequent will, had operated in law, as his laſt will: For, letters of adminiſtration would have been granted to John Hemynge, with the codicil, or will (*q*) annexed, which it would have been his duty to execute, according to the intention of the teſtator.

It would be a much more eaſy taſk, for the public accuſer, to fix forgery on the laſt will of Shakſpeare, in the prerogative office, than on the *codicil*, in the *Miſcellaneous Papers*. Nothing protects the laſt will of Shakſpeare from the imputation of forgery, but the place, wherein it is preſerved. The manner, in

" before the making of a Teſtament," in Weſt's Symboleographie, ſect. 648: And Weſt ſays expreſsly, in the ſubſequent ſection "that codicils may be made, without any teſta-" ment, either precedent, or ſubſequent." Mr. Malone, indeed, admits, " that this is a *will* rather than a deed of " gift." [Inquiry, 286.] Now, if Shakſpeare's deed of gift, be a *codicil*, this circumſtance will over-rule the law, quoted in the ſame page, from Blackſtone, as applicable to a *contract*, which muſt have a *ſufficient conſideration* to ſupport it.

(*p*) 2d Lord Raymond, 1282, Powel v. Beresford.

(*q*) Lit. 168; Swinb. on Wills, p. i. ſ. 5. Br. Teſtament, 20.

which

which this inſtrument is executed, is extremely ſuſpicious: The moſt acute obſervers have doubted, whether the three ſignatures of the teſtator, be all of Shakſpeare's writing (*r*). The laſt will is full of interlineations, and blurs; from which the codicil is free. At the making of the laſt will, Shakſpeare had forgotten his wife, till he was put in remembrance by the byſtanders, that he had a wife, and he then left her *ſome kind of bed* to lie on (*s*): In the codicil, he is aware, that he has a wife, for whom he provides in a *huſbandlike* manner: And, he is alſo aware how wrong it would be, *to wring a widow from her accuſtomed right*. When making his laſt will, he had nearly forgotten *his fellows*, Hemynge, Burbadge, and Condel: when making his codicil, he recollected all his fellows, who were worthy of remembrance; while making his laſt will, he was induced, by ſome monitor, to bequeath Hemynge, Burbadge, and Condel, *two marks* apiece, according to Mr. Malone's calculation, to buy them rings; but, by the codicil, he bequeaths to his ſeveral fellows, what was more

(*r*) Malone's Shakſ. 1790. vol. i. part i. p. 191: Mr. Malone indeed ſays, miſtakingly, that the name at the top of the margin of the firſt ſheet was probably written by the ſcrivener, who drew the will.

(*s*) Inquiry, 282.

congenial for a poet to give, and players to receive, his *dramas*, which have conferred immortality on them all. When making his *codicil*, the miſbehaviour of his daughter Judith, whatever it had been, made him neglect her: When he made his will, he ſeems not to know, whether ſhe were married, or not, or what to give her, after his beſt recollection. His *deare daughter* Suſanna Hall, who *had alwaye demeaned herſelfe well*, the teſtator made his reſiduary legatee, in both. Yet, the public accuſer, after all his elaboration, does not remark, what experienced judges have often obſerved, that *fraud* generally adjuſts circumſtances with more preciſion, than *truth*, which, as it has nothing to conceal, is never circumſpect about incidents.

He declares, however, that Shakſpeare's legacy to his dear daughter, *who had always behaved herſelf well*, would have been void, for its *uncertainty*, according to a maxim of Lord Verulam: But his lordſhip has another maxim, which might have been quoted, for effectuating the will of the donor: that, "in "contemplation of law, every thing is cer-"tain, that may be reduced to a certainty." I will not diſpute Lord Verulam's maxim, that an ambiguity, in a deed, cannot be holpen, by

by an averment. Like other maxims, this is true in the general, but is not juſt, in the particular application: It may be true, when applied to a deed; but it is not juſt, when applied to a will: For, it was determined in Lord Cheney's caſe that, for explaining the doubtful words of a *will*, a parol *averment* may be admitted, to aſcertain the perſon, who was intended, but not to alter the nature of the eſtate, which was deviſed (*t*). It would not, therefore, have required "ſome Œdipus to inform us," which of Shakſpeare's daughters, Suſanna, or Judith, had always demeaned *herſelfe* well.

Yet, the public accuſer, when he fails in overpowering Shakſpeare's codicil, by his law maxims, is determined to raiſe ſuſpicions of its genuineneſs, by a charge againſt it of novelty. For the *odd* ſums given, ſuch as twenty *ſeven* pounds, no probable reaſon can be aſſigned; all gifts and legacies, being uſually *even* ſums, ſuch as twenty ſix pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence (*u*). But, Shakſpeare has himſelf aſſigned a probable reaſon: "They ſay there is "divinity in *odd numbers* either on nativity, "chance, or death." Who has ever before pretended to calculate the effects of *caprice*, in making gifts? Can any probable reaſon be

(*t*) 5. Rep. 68. (*u*) Inquiry, 285.

aſſigned, why our inquirer has departed from the rules of logic; by begging the queſtion, which he ought to prove; by ſhifting from himſelf to his opponents the labour of reſearch, though it lay upon him to prove what they may, rightfully, deny. If he had ſaid, that *all* gifts, and *all* legacies are *always* given in *even* ſums, I would have ſhown by examples, "at this odd, even, and dull, watch of "the night," that they were often conferred by deſign, or chance, without theſe odd ſums being conſidered, "as manifeſt denotations of "fiction (*v*)." Such objections, and ſuch

(*v*) The gifts to Shanke, and Rice, two low players, are chiefly obſervable, for the *abſurd* ſums allotted them; to one 37 ſhillings in money, and 18 ſhillings to buy a ring; and 39 ſhillings to another. "No number of nobles or marks will "make any [one] of theſe ſums." [Inquiry, 297-8.] In the wills of Heminge, Cundel, and Underhill, which have been publiſhed by Mr. Malone [Shakſ. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 191—199—212.] there is no alluſion to *nobles* or *marks*. Heminge bequeathed *five* pounds; Cundel bequeathed *five* pounds: And, Underhill *was ſo abſurd*, as to bequeath eleven ſhillings apiece, to each of his executors, to buy them rings. Why would not Mr. Malone read the will of Underhill, which would have warned him, as a beacon, againſt running his critical bark aſhore upon the ſhoals of *odd ſums*. Auguſtine Phillips bequeathed *an odd thirty ſhilling* piece in *gould* to Shakſpeare: But, as Mr. Malone could not diſcover this intereſting will of Phillips, he could not calculate whether a thirty ſhilling piece be an *odd ſum*, or not.

reaſonings,

reaſonings, might tempt the believers to exclaim with the moroſe SWIFT:

" But, man we find the only creature,
" Who, led by folly, combats nature;
" Who, when ſhe loudly cries, *Forbear*,
" With obſtinacy fixes there;
" And, when his genius leaſt inclines,
" *Abſurdly* bends his whole deſigns."

The public accuſer proceeds obſtinately from his conſiderations about the bequeſts of odd ſums, in his accuſtomed ſtrain of *aſſumption*, though *nature loudly cries, Forbear*, to a minute examination of the particular legacies. Shakſpeare's bequeſt to his *deare* daughter is not more unlucky, it ſeems, than the donation to " the wittye Maſtirr Armyne (*w*)." Had the donor called the player *gameſome* Maſter Armin, there would have been no objection. But, aſſuming what he ought to prove, the public accuſer ſays, "that the *fa-* " *bricator*, has ſtumbled on a word [wittye] " that bore no ſuch meaning as was here in- " tended to be affixed to it (*x*)." Of this inauſpicious word *wittye*, he appears not yet to have had enough. He thus ſhows, by his own declaration, that he had never ſeen " *Me-* " *næcmi*, which was printed, in 1595, a plea- " ſant and fine conceited *comoedie*, taken out of

(*w*) Inquiry, 297. (*x*) Inquiry, 297.

" the moſt excellent *wittie* poet PLAU-
" TUS (*y*) :" Nor, had he ever peruſed Harrington's *Epigrams*; which, as they are *wittie* themſelves, ſtudiouſly ſpeak of other *wittie* ſayings (*z*). In a ſimilar ſtrain of argumentation, does he prove, " that the various dona-
" tions to the ſeveral actors named are as ab-
" ſurd, capricious, and incongruous, as thoſe
" to his wife, and daughter :"—Continually proving things doubtful, by things as doubtful; without troubling himſelf much about the accuracy of his premiſes, or caring greatly about the juſtneſs of his concluſion.

(*y*) It was reprinted with five other old plays, on which Shakſpeare founded his Meaſure for Meaſure; Comedy of Errors; Taming of the Shrew; King John; King Henry VI. and Henry V; and King Lear; by Nichols, in 1779. This quotation anſwers at once two objections; to *excellent*, as applied to writings; and to *wittie*, in the ſenſe of ſmartneſs.

(*z*) Harrington's Epigrams, 1618, wherein a diligent reader might have ſeen a *witty* ſpeech of Heywood, the epigrammatiſt to Queen Mary; a *witty* anſwer of Biſhop Bonner; a *witty* choice of a country fellow; a *witty* writer of this time. The objector is not more lucky in his obſervation on *Hemynge's honour*; "a phraſe which the fabricator " foreſaw *would come into uſe after his death.*" [Inquiry, p. 301.] But is the aſſumption true? There is not, certainly, a word, in the dramas of Shakſpeare, that is introduced, in a greater variety of phraſes, than *honour*, which, we may ſay, with Proſpero, "cannot be meaſured or confined."

Yet,

Yet, is he about to bring forward an objection, which will nullify Shakſpeare's teſtamentary deed, by the deciſive ſtroke of an apparent anachroniſm. The liberality of our poet, ſays (*a*) he, "ſends, three pounds and "a gold ring after his *good Kempe*, who *ap-* "*pears* to have been *then* dead." We are ultimately referred, for proof of *the fact*, to the *Guls* Horne-book, which, when publiſhed, in 1609, ſays; "Tuſh, tuſh, Tarleton, "*Kempe*, nor Singer, nor all the litter of fools, "that *now* come drawling behind them, "never played the clownes part more natu- "rally, than the arranteſt ſot of you all." The Guls Horne-book, we ſee, was obviouſly written in the ſtyle of ſatire, rather than the language of ſerioufneſs; to *gull* thoſe critics, who believe, without reaſon, and doubt, without a cauſe. But, did not Lord Bacon, in 1618, ſpeak of Allen, that *was* the actor; although *Ned* had only retired from the ſtage, and lived to endow Dulwich college? May not Kempe, in the ſame manner, have only retired from the ſcene, before the year 1609, and have probably lived to enjoy Shakſpeare's

(*a*) Inquiry, 297, which refers us to Shakſ. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 197.

legacy?

legacy? Mr. Malone is equally (*b*) positive, that Thomas Pope, who also performed the part of a clown, *died before the year* 1600; and for *this assertion*, he quotes another *Guls Horne-book*, Heywood's *Apology for Actors*: Yet, have I found, in the prerogative-office, the will of Pope, the player, which was made by him, in 1603, when, the testator affirmed, he was of *disposing mind*; an evidence of thinking, which, our *Cartesian* must allow, is the very definition of *entity*. It is not, then, apparent, that Kempe was dead, in 1609. And every one, who is accustomed to weigh circumstances, in the scale of probability, will rather presume, in favour of life, that Kempe was probably living, and was legally capable to wear Shakspeare's ring, in open contempt of the *Guls Horne-book*.

The public accuser is not only determined to send Kempe to an untimely grave, but is resolved, by reviving an exploded question, to deprive Shakspeare of his *copy-right* in his never-dying dramas. "At that time, he says, "*no notion* of *literary property was entertained*, "unless where a particular licence to print "certain books by the crown." Yet, contrary

(*b*) Shakf. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 198.

to

to looſe aſſertion, the regiſters of the Stationers' company prove, that notions were even then entertained of literary property. In 1559, there are entries of fines, for invading *copy-right:* In 1573, other entries mention the *ſale* of *copies*, with the prices. In 1582, the entries are ſtill more remarkable; as ſome of them are made with a proviſo, that *if it be found any other has a right to particular copies, then the licence for the copies ſo belonging to another ſhall be void.* This proviſo, as it indicates a notion of *copy-right antecedent* to the *licence*, is a compleat anſwer to the queſtion (*c*). "Shakſpeare, therefore, well knew, it is ſaid, "that he had no title to any of his plays then "in the hands of his aſſociates (*d*)." Yet, his aſſociates poſitively declared, when they ſent his dramas into the world, that he had a right to publiſh (*e*) them, though the actors, to

(*c*) See Hargrave's Argument in Defence of Literary Property, p. 42-3.

(*d*) Inquiry, 290.

(*e*) See the player's preface; and ſee the entries on the 18th of January 1601, of the Merry Wives of Windſor, *aſſigned* by John Buſby to Arthur Johnſon; of King John, by *aſſignment* from Stafford, on the 6th of May 1605; of Shakſpeare's comedyes and tragedyes, ſo many of the ſaid *copies* as *were not entered to other men*, on the 8th of November

to whom they were assigned for the special purpose, may have had the privilege of presenting them on the stage. The right, then, of Shakspeare to dispose of his own dramas, was, in those times, indubitable, though under certain modifications, as to those plays, which he may have already disposed of to the players, or the printers (*f*).

Yet, the public accuser asks many questions, with regard to Shakspeare's gifts, to which he knows not what answer will be given (*g*). Why did none of the actors avail themselves of those valuable gifts, on the death of Shakspeare? Why did not Burbadge, and his fellows, print the Tempest, and the other dramas, which had been so long withheld? Why did not some of the actors institute a suit against Heminge to compel a specifick execution of the trust? Why did not Mrs. Shakspeare receive her own letters, rings, and other gewgaws? "To say ay, and no,

vember 1623: And on the 23d June 1632, sixteen of those plays, were assigned by Edward Blount to Edward Allot, who was one of the publishers of the second folio edition of Shakspeare's dramas. [Mal. Shakf. vol. i. p. 255-256-259-260.]

(*f*) See Professor Christian's argument, in Black. Com. vol. ii. p. 407.

(*g*) Inquiry, 302.

"to

" to theſe particulars, is more than to anſwer " in a catechiſm." One anſwer may, however, be given to a thouſand ſuch queſtions. The deed of truſt being, in contemplation of law, a mere codicil, was compleatly revoked, by the publication of Shakſpeare's laſt will; whereby a different diſpoſition of his property was made, and a new truſt created, which was executed under a competent juriſdiction. There are, moreover, other queſtions, with regard to Shakſpeare's affairs, which the public accuſer aſks, when *puzzled in mazes*; yet cannot anſwer, when *perplexed with error*. He cannot tell, why John Hemings was made a truſtee by Shakſpeare, when he purchaſed his eſtate in Blackfriars? Why did Hemings, by a deed, dated the 10th of February 1617-18, convey that eſtate to the uſes, declared by Shakſpeare's will? Would not the eſtate have deſcended, as the will directed, without the help of Hemings (*b*). Thus eaſy is it to aſk more queſtions in a minute, than can be anſwered in a day. But, a little learning is a dangerous thing; as we all know: And, a little law-learning is a ſtill more dangerous thing; as this diſquiſition on Shak-

(*b*) Inquiry, 303-4.

ſpeare's

ſpeare's deed of truſt evinces. Yet, thoſe dangers might have been avoided by the public accuſer, had diſcretion warned ſelf-ſufficiency of the gulf, which ſeparates ignorance from knowledge:—

" Be ſure yourſelf and your own reach to know,
" How far your genius, taſte, and learning go;
" Lanch not beyond your depth, but be diſcreet,
" And mark that point, where ſenſe and dullneſs meet.

After this indulgent hearing, nothing remains for me, but to ſubmit to this court my *forepaſt proofs, howe'er the matter fall*, as the beſt apology for the believers, on this miſcellaneous head of the Inquiry. The general argument, which is too ſolid to be overturned, by general reaſonings, the public accuſer undertook to confute, by particular inveſtigations. He has offered his objections, which, in my turn, I have fully examined. Preſumptions ſo equally weigh againſt preſumptions, as " to " poiſe the cauſe in juſtice' equal ſcales, whoſe " beam ſtands ſure." It is for the equity of this court, while thus, *doubts ſtand even*, to decide either in favour of innocent *belief*, or in condemnation of accuſing *ſcepticiſm*.

§ VII.

§ VII.

THE LEARE; AND HAMBLETTE.

The public accuſer at length proceeds from " the farrago of papers and deeds " to *Leare* and *Hamblet* (*a*). " Three words on this ſub- " ject will ſuffice," he ſays (*b*). " Had the " *fabricator of this piece* [theſe pieces, Leare, " and Hamblet,] been content to exhibit *it* " as a play-houſe copy, *it* had been a curio- " ſity, but he has ventured to write in the " firſt page—" Tragedye of Kynge Leare iſſe " fromme Maſterre Hollinneſhedde I have " inne ſomme lyttle deparretedde from hymme " butte thatte LIBBERTYE will notte I truſt " be blamedde bye mye gentle Readerres " " W^m^. Shakſpeare."—" If it is [be] not of " Shakſpeare's own hand, it is nothing (*c*)." In this opening paragraph, we have ſome admirable ſpecimens of *thoſe faults*, which great wits may *glorioufly commit*; and which *true critics* dare not mend.

But, the public accuſer will, doubtleſs, be more fortunate in his *matter*, than he has been happy in his *manner*. By ſpeaking deciſively of *the fabricator* of thoſe pieces, in

(*a*) Inquiry, 304. (*b*) Id. (*c*) Ib. 304-5.

the outſet, he takes for granted the very point, which he undertook to prove. Like a great *wit*, he overleaps the *vulgar bounds* of logic, and, without *paſſing through the judgment*, at once comes at his end. He, however, does make ſome objections, which he thinks deciſive proofs of undoubted forgery. The fabricator apologizes "for the *liberty* he has "taken in departing from the hiſtorian; a "word not uſed in that ſenſe till long after "his death. The term of his age (here re-"quired) was *licenſe* (*d*)." We have now another ſubſtitution of mere averment, for promiſed evidence. If we look, however, into Cooper's *Theſaurus*, 1573, we ſhall find *libertas*; *liberty*, in a good ſenſe; *licentia*; *licence*, or immoderate liberty, in a bad ſenſe. Now; what does Jacques aſk for?

"——— I muſt have *liberty*
"Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
"To blow on whom I pleaſe; for ſo fools have.

Jacques does not, then, aſk for *liberty*, to do what is fit; but for *licence*, to do what he pleaſes: And, in the ſame ſpirit, the Duke,

(*d*) Inquiry, 309. The more curious reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that I have printed, and pointed, the above quotation, exactly as it is in the *Inquiry*; that the reader may fairly judge of the *great wit's* matter, as well as his manner.

in

in *Meaſure for Meaſure*; deſcribing a ſtate of anarchy, ſays:

" And, *liberty* plucks *juſtice* by the noſe;
" The baby beats the nurſe; and quite athwart
" Goes all decorum."

Now; does *liberty*, in a good ſenſe, pluck *juſtice* by the noſe; or, is it the *licence*, with which the baby beats the nurſe? Nor, can there be a more anarchial ſtate of *indecorum*; except when the critical baby beats the *poetical nurſe*, which has foſtered him for thirty years; becauſe ſhe will not *blow on whom he pleaſes*.

But, the public accuſer is now determined " to ſhow by a ſingle glance, that it [Leare] " is a plain and palpable forgery (*e*)." " To " prove this deciſively, he (*f*) ſays, it is only " neceſſary to quote a ſingle paſſage from it." After avowing, that he has not collated any part of this *tragedye*, except one ſpeech; after aſking, whether Shakſpeare knew verſe from proſe, or ſenſe from nonſenſe; he produces from the firſt act, and fourth ſcene, a ſpeech of poor diſtracted Lear, which, in its amended ſtate, is ſufficient to *ſhake our manhood*; and which, as it was firſt publiſhed, is one of the moſt corrupted paſſages in the dramas

(*e*) Inquiry, 305. (*f*) Id.

of Shakſpeare (*g*). Scarcely any ſcene has given riſe to more controverſy, among the commentators, about the true reading, and genuine ſenſe. The queſtion has never been,

(*g*) I give this never-to-be-forgotten paſſage from the 4to edition of 1608, as it was republiſhed, in 1766:

" Lear:—What, fifty of my followers at a clap, within a fortnight?

" Duke:—What is the matter Sir?

" Lear:—Ile tell thee, life and death! I am aſham'd
" that thou haſt power to ſhake my manhood
" thus, that theſe hot teares that breake from me
" perforce, ſhould make the worſt blaſts and fogs
" vpon the *vntender woundings of a father's* curſe,
" peruſe ſenſe about the olde fond eies, beweep
" this cauſe againe, ile plucke you out, and you
" caſt with the waters that you make to temper
" clay."

Such is Lear's ſpeech, in the firſt quarto. Yet, the public accuſer thinks it is much more probable, that thoſe very rare editions [the early quartos] were beyond the reach of the fabricator. [Inquiry, 308.] True it is, however, as a thouſand witneſſes can teſtify, that the editor of the *Miſcellaneous Papers* was poſſeſt of the quarto edition of *Lear*, 1608: And, from this fact, a public accuſer, who had been more ready with real, than groundleſs, objections, might better *have ſerved his uſes, both in purſe, and perſon.* He thinks the *ſecond folio* was very *german to the matter* in hand, and was very properly choſen for the baſis of a new fiction. [Ib. 308.] The only difference, however, between the *baſis* and *the ſuperſtructure*, is, that the firſt is in *metre*, the ſecond in *proſe*: a difference this, which his prejudices againſt both did not allow him to diſtinguiſh.

till

till now, whether Shakſpeare knew verſe from proſe, or ſenſe from nonſenſe :—But, the difficulty has ever been, with the moſt learned, and the moſt acute, to diſcover, amidſt ſo much uncertainty, what he really wrote. The *player-editors* profeſſed, indeed, to give our poet's *comedies*, *hiſtories*, and *tragedies*, "abſolute in their numbers as he conceived "them." Yet, when they *eſcaped* the players, the works of Shakſpeare, ſays Warburton, did not fall into better hands, when they came amongſt printers, and bookſellers: The *ſtubborn nonſenſe*, with which the poet was incruſted, occaſioned his lying long neglected amongſt the common lumber of the ſtage (*b*). From the days of Rowe, it has been the continual endeavour of genius and diligence, of ſolid ſenſe and active intelligence, of the acuteſt intellect and the profoundeſt learning, to remove the incruſtations of nonſenſe, and to clear our author from the lumber of the ſtage.

If, then, the finding of *nonſenſe*, in the dramas of our immortal poet would throw a ſuſpicion upon their genuineneſs, which of them would be free from the charge of ſpuriouſneſs? If a queſtion had ariſen, in 1609, whether *The*

(*b*) Warburton's Preface.

Chronicle Hiſtory of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters, were the genuine work of Shakſpeare, it would have been a manifeſt proof of forgery, according to the logical canon of the public accuſer, to have quoted the before mentioned ſpeech, nonſenſical, and unmetrical, as it is undoubtedly. The argument, then, which was to be deciſive, appears now to decide nothing. But, he has ſtill more of the ſame deciſive arguments to produce. "As the whole of this play is in "the hand-writing, aſſigned to Shakſpeare, "and as *it is manifeſt that it cannot be genuine*, "it follows neceſſarily, that it is an abſolute "forgery;" as if the hand-writing of Shakſpeare were indiſputably aſcertained; as if Shakſpeare, like other poets, did not ſometimes write (*i*) feebly: as if ſophiſtry were *german to the matter* of argument. Here, he again fails, unleſs *aſſumption*, and *proof*, be the ſame.

From ſuch reaſonings we are, at length, conducted to the laſt ſcene of Lear, which exhibits the concluding ſpeech of Kent, that has embarraſſed the critics, and divided the commentators:—

(*i*) His declamations, or ſet ſpeeches, ſays Johnſon, are commonly cold, and weak. [Preface.]

"I have

" I have a journey, Sir, ſhortly to go,
" My maſter calls, and I muſt not ſay no."

In the *laſt* edition, we have, in the place of this couplet, which has not been deemed the moſt energetic, in the ſentiment, or the moſt explicit, in the language, the following ſpeech of Kent:—

" Thanks, Sir; but I go to that unknown land,
" That chains each pilgrim faſt within its ſoil;
" By living men moſt ſhunn'd, moſt dreaded:
" Still my good maſter this ſame journey took;
" He calls me, I am content, and ſtreight obey:
" Then, farewell world, the buſy ſcene is done;
" Kent liv'd moſt true, Kent dies moſt like a man (*k*)."

Theſe verſes, which Shakſpeare need not have been aſhamed to own, are reprobated, as not at all *Shakſpearean*. The two lines, which, however ſhort and bald, are certainly genuine, have been beaten out, we are told, and amplified into ſeven (*l*). But, the public accuſer forgets, that there is a new, and important, ſentiment introduced, and expanded: The editor of 1790 inſiſts, that Shakſpeare meant to throw Kent into

(*k*) Upon the authority of Johnſon, who ſays, that the pointing of Shakſpeare's dramas is in our own power, I have taken the *liberty*, (*licence*, I ſhould have ſaid,) to point, in my own way, this reprobated ſpeech of Kent, who " liv'd " moſt true, and died moſt like a man."

(*l*) Inquiry, p. 309.

diſtraction, but not into the *grave*: In theſe lines, the *late editor* diſpatches Kent to that *unknown land*, which *chains each pilgrim faſt within its ſoil*. Here, then, the public accuſer fails. The ſupplemental verſes are not better, he ſays, than any poetical ſchoolboy could write: The couplet of the firſt edition is not better, I ſay, than any poetical boarding-ſchool Miſs could write. Here, again, he fails. Thoſe ſeven lines have been (*m*) quoted, it ſeems, by ſomebody, for *want of better arguments*, as teeming with energy, and pathos (*n*). For *want of better arguments*, the public accuſer prefers the old couplet; which is ſo unintelligible, as not to be underſtood, without the help of comments. Strange! that he will not recollect the duty, which he owes to his public engagement; viz. to prove the *intelligible* lines to be *ſpurious*, by his own ſtrength, rather than by his opponent's weakneſs.

But, the *buſy ſcene is done!* The public accuſer now recurs to *negative* arguments; becauſe, he doubtleſs thinks them the beſt. The lines throughout are numbered in the margin, a *practice unexampled in our author's time*, he (*o*) ſays; as if there were not always

(*m*) Inquiry, 309. (*n*) Id. (*o*) Id.

exceptions

exceptions to the general practice; even if the fact had been proved, rather than asserted. The manuscript plays, which he possesses, or all which he had ever seen, are written on both sides of the sheet, he adds; but, the *half covered Leare* is only written on one of the sides; as if it were possible to establish a general practice from *half a dozen old plays* of Shakspeare's (*p*) time; as if it were easy to account for the fancies of design, or the varieties of chance. He sheds *the tears of lamentation*, that only four and twenty paper marks are mentioned, and not one *fac simile* is given, as a proof of the antiquity of the paper; as if the *archæology* of paper marks had been yet settled, by collecting the names of paper makers, in that age, and exhibiting the mark of each.

From the inconclusiveness of negative arguments, he proceeds to the more cogent decisiveness of affirmative statement. He now goes on to instruct the world, how old paper may be easily procured, for the execution of such a scheme of literary fraud (*q*). But, he forgets to show, how the paper of this *half covered Leare* was obtained, whether from the

(*p*) Inquiry, 309. (*q*) Inquiry, 310.

door-keeper of the *paper-office*, or from the *book-binder of Cambridge*. The *houſehold books* of *ancient families*, indeed, the public accuſer admits were out of the reach of the never-to-be forgotton country gentleman. But, though he can tell where old paper may be found, for any fabrication, he has never met with one perſon, who had ever ſeen the *half covered Leare*, "or even a ſingle ſheet of it (*r*):" It was produced, it ſeems, to the *admiring croud*, in *ſingle leaves*, that is, "as faſt probably as "the country gentleman could write it (*s*)." Theſe poſitions are gravely ſtated, in the preſence of a thouſand perſons, who have ſeen the Lear, in its *integrity*, *whole*, and *entire*, who could have informed him, how *it was ſewed*; what number of leaves it contained; and *whether* the *edges* were in their *natural rough ſtate*. The ſaid thouſand perſons could have, moreover, told him, that his whole conception of the *half covered Lear* is completely erroneous. But, the public accuſer has retailed his miſconceptions, in *broken ſentences*, and *ſingle leaves*; in order to repreſent "the be-"lievers in theſe fictions," as perſons, who had neither common ſenſe, to perceive a pal-

(*r*) Inquiry, 311. (*s*) Id.

pable

pable impoſition, nor common honeſty, to reprobate an obvious cheat. Yet; who would not, in a choice of difficulties, rather wiſh to be *deceived*, than to *deceive!* The public accuſer may find his true juſtification, by lamenting with DAVIS, in his *Noſce Teipſum:*

" What can we *know?* or what can we *diſcerne?*
" When *error* chokes the windowes of the mind!

On this head of the Inquiry, with regard to *Leare* and *Hamblette*, the believers will only add, in the *fair preſence* of this critical court, as their beſt apology:

" ———————— O! *error, ſoon conceiv'd,*
" Thou never com'ſt unto a happy birth;
" But, kill'ſt the mother, that engender'd thee."

The public accuſer, by raiſing *the expectancy* of ſome fragments of Shakſpeare, was himſelf *the mother* of this *ſoon conceived error*. Whether, in fulfilment of the forebodings of *the ſeer*, this *error* will kill, by an *unhappy birth*, *the mother* that engendered it, is a fate, which can be known only to thoſe, who pretend to *ſecond ſight*. One truth is, however, certain, as the ſaid *ſeer* aſſures us:

" Oft *expectation* fails, and moſt oft there,
" Where moſt it promiſes; and oft it hits,
" Where hope is coldeſt, and deſpair moſt fits."

§ VIII. SHAK-

— § VIII. —

SHAKSPEARE's NOTE OF HAND.

It is foreign to the purpoſe of this Apology to go into conſiderations, concerning thoſe documents, which, as they have been ſcarcely ſeen, and never publiſhed, ſeldom attracted much attention, or were the objects of much regard. Every queſtion about ſuch documents, whether defined, or undefined, proper, or improper, muſt be anſwered by thoſe, who, being *intimates*, may be ſuppoſed to be beſt qualified to ſearch out "what's paſt, and "what's to come." It is of more uſe, as it may afford more inſtruction, to inveſtigate the ſubject of the *note of hand*, which was reſerved for this place; in order to conſider, at once, what has been advanced by the public accuſer, and what has been urged by his learned (*a*) coadjutor, after *turning over his law books*.

It is unneceſſary to repeat, here, the minute criticiſms of the public accuſer, were they leſs tedious; as they have been already anſwered: Indeed, he himſelf declares, that "he wants no "aid from theſe minute obſervations: *The whole*

(*a*) Inquiry, 133; Appx. N° 1.

"*is*

" *is an evident forgery* (*b*)." To this aſſertion, he adds another; as if the accumulation of aſſertions amounted to the fulneſs of proof: " I run no hazard," he ſays, " when I aſſert, " that *no ſuch form of promiſſory note* exiſted " at that time (*c*)." In order to prove his negative aſſertion, with reſpect to the *uniformity*, both in matter, and manner, of *unſealed* bills, he immediately produces three *unſealed* bills of different forms (*d*): And, it thus appears, from *his own proofs*, that the *unſealed* bills of Shakſpeare's days were extremely different, in their matter, and form (*e*): And, from *his own*

(*b*) Inquiry, 137. (*c*) Ib. 140. (*d*) Ib. 141.

(*e*) I will ſubjoin two other forms of *unſealed* bills, in order to prove fully, that there was then no *uniform manner* in drawing them; and that, conſequently, an objection to the want of uniformity to a ſuppoſed ſtandard is groundleſs: —

" Memorandu' borowed of Mr. Richard Remchinge " gent. the xxx^th^: of Jully 1596: / the ſomme of fortie " ſhillinges whiche I promyſe to paye att all tymes vpon de- " mande & in wittnes heareof I have ſubſcribed my name " the daye & yeare firſt above wryten: / /

E: Slansfeilde

" More I doe owe fyve ſhillinges
" ſo in all xlv^s^: /
" More borowed fyftene ſhillinges
" Somma totall—iij li.

The

own ſhewing, it follows, that there did not then exiſt any *ſet form* of promiſſory notes. The public accuſer fails, then, in proving either his *negative* poſition, that *no ſuch form of promiſſory note exiſted, at that* (*f*) *time*; or his *affirmative* poſition, that there then exiſted an uniform mode, in writing *unſealed* bills, which was quite different from Shakſpeare's note.

After all thoſe failures, the public accuſer is ſtudious to ſhow how *very ignorant* the fabricator of this note, undoubtedly, was. With-

The original of Slansfeilde's note of hand was obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Craven Ord. The following *unſealed* bill, which exhibits a *fifth* variety, I copied from the pariſh regiſters of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the very ſite of the Globe Theatre.

" Memorandum—That whereas upon the 2d daye of " July 1590 Gilbert Rocket now one of the churchwardens " of the pariſh of St. Saviour's in Southwark in the county of " Surrey did lend unto the reſt of the church wardens for " the uſe of the pariſh the ſome of fiftye poundes good " and lawful money of England towards the payment ſute " & fyne for the leaſe of our parſonage: It is pro- " miſed and agreed by the churchwardens and veſtrymen " hereunder written, that the ſaid ſome of fiftye poundes ſhall " be repayde unto the ſaid Gilbert Rocket, his executors, " or aſſigns at and uppon the ſecond daye of Julye which " ſhall be in anno 1591, without any fraud, coven, or fur- " ther delaye"

(Signed) &c. [The names.]

(*f*) Inquiry, 140.

out

out disputing about the ignorance, or the knowledge, of *so obscure a personage*, it may be admitted, without controversy, that the *editor* of *the Miscellaneous Papers* was ill informed, or ill advised, to call this *common assurance* of Shakspeare, "a note of hand," which neither Shakspeare, nor Heminge, who were the parties to the transaction, call it themselves. From them it did not receive any name. And by them, it was left, without a name, like other legal instruments, to find its own way in the world, and to support, if necessary, its own sufficiency, in Westminster-hall. If this fact had been attended to, much learned investigation would have been saved, and much witty writing spared; to the no small disappointment of the curious reader.

The truth is, that the word *bill* is the most ancient term, and is of Saxon (*g*) derivation, while the word *note* is a modern upstart of uncertain extraction. Before, and after, the days of Shakspeare, *bill* was the common word for *any writing*. And, from this original signification, we still have, in the present times, in daily use, bills of exchange, bills of lading, bills of store, bills of sufferance, bills of par-

(*g*) Skinner, in Vo.

cels. The term *bill*, however, was, in Shakſpeare's days, and by our great poet himſelf, more confined in its ſenſe; being particularly appropriated to evidence ſome *ſimple contract*, or money lent, and borrowed (*b*). Yet, the word *note* began to be uſed, during thoſe times, to ſignify a ſchedule, or ſhort memorial of familiar tranſactions (*i*). From this brief account, we may perceive, how memorandums for goods bought, or money borrowed, came to be called *bills* of debt, which were ſometimes ſealed; and which, according to the circumſtances, whether ſealed, or unſealed, had very different operations in law.

(*b*) In *Much ado about Nothing:* "Have a care that "your *bills* be not ſtolen:"—In Hen. 6:—"When ſhall "we go to Cheapſide, and take up commodities on our "*bills*:—In Timon of Athens: "All our *bills*;—knock me "me down with them."—In June 1588, a warrant was iſſued to deliver to the Earl of Leiceſter all his *bills*; teſtifying the receipt of twenty thouſand pounds. [Murden, 788.] In the ſtate papers of that period, letters, and other familiar writings, are called *bills*.

(*i*) Sir Thomas Heneage, in writing to Lord Burghley, on the 4th of September 1570, of a particular tranſaction, promiſed "to keep the *note* thereof for him." [Haynes, p. 606.] Sir Thomas Greſham, in writing to Lord Burghley, in 1572, ſpeaks of the particular *not* of the money. [Murden, 217.]

The

The three inſtances, that were produced by Mr. Malone, and the two now laid before the public, are *unſealed bills of debt*, which, in the preſent times, would be called *notes of hand*. But, none of theſe, he adds, "were "indorſable over, nor *could any action at law* "*be maintained on them.*" Thoſe notes of hand were not, indeed, *indorſable over*, according to modern practice; but, they were aſſignable; and in fact, were often aſſigned, in payment for goods, or in ſatisfaction for debts. That *an action at law could not be maintained on them* is an aſſertion, which is hazarded, without conſideration: For, it muſt be deemed inconſiſtent with our juriſprudence, contrary to the maxim, that there can be no wrong without a remedy, and adverſe to the great authority of Coke-Lyttelton (*k*). Here is another example, that a little law-learning is a moſt dangerous thing. The public accuſer, indeed, aſſigns the true reaſon for that aſſertion: "I did not think it neceſſary," ſays he, "to

(*k*) 56 A. It is an eſtabliſhed point, "that when the "common law gives a right, or makes a thing an injury, the "ſame law gives a remedy, or action." [1 Salkeld's Rep. 20-21; 6 Mod. Rep. 54.] Now; is not an *unſealed* bill of debt a legal evidence of a right withheld?

"*turn*

" *turn over my law books*, or to go deeper into " the ſubject (*l*)."

Let us now attend to the learned coadjutor of the public accuſer, who *does turn over his law books*, and does go deeper into the ſubject (*m*).

Like a true *Carteſian* juriſt, this learned perſon begins his diſquiſition *by doubting*. He doubts, whether any ſuch inſtrument as Shakſpeare's note to Heminge is known to have been in uſe at that period (*n*). He ſees three ſuch notes before his eyes; and he might have ſeen three hundred, in the practice of that period: Yet, he doubts the exiſtence of ſuch notes of hand, during the age of Shakſpeare. Carteſius never doubted, whether he could *think:* But, this learned perſon, when he obſerves *unſealed* bills before his eyes, doubts, whether he can *ſee*.

In this ſpirit of doubting he turns his eyes from *the fact*, to examine the black-letter law, the reports, and the year-books; in order to prove the non-exiſtence of *unſealed* bills. He diſcovers, that the perſonal ſecurities, which were uſed, in the time of Shakſpeare, and for

(*l*) Inquiry, 142. (*m*) Ib. 369,—Appx. N° 1.

(*n*) Inquiry, 371.

centuries

centuries before, were either obligations, called bonds, or bills, which were ſometimes called *bills of debt*, or bills obligatory; and which were equally *deeds*; requiring to be ſigned, *ſealed*, and delivered. "It would be idle, he "immediately adds, to multiply authorities "to prove, that there was always a ſeal to "theſe bills (*o*)." Idle would it be, indeed, to quote Cowel, and Coke-Littelton, to prove, *that there was always a ſeal to a* SEALED *bill*. The coadjutor was inquiring, whether there exiſted, in fact, during Shakſpeare's age, *unſealed* bills: And, he multiplies authorities to prove, that there were, in that age, *ſealed* bills, both in fact, and law. But, there is one authority, which he does not quote, *Bacon's Uſe of the Law*. That great writer, in treating of the ſeries, wherein legacies are to be paid, ſays;—"but this is to be under-"ſtood, by debts of record to the King, or "by bill, and bond *ſealed*, or arrearage of "rent, or ſervants, or workmens, wages; "and not debts of ſhopbooks, or bills *un-*"*ſealed*, or contracts by word (*p*)." And, thus, the fact ſupports the authority of Bacon;

(*o*) Inquiry, 372; which quotes Cowel, and Coke-Littelton.

(*p*) I quote from the edition of 1635, p. 71.

as the authority of Bacon explains the operation of the fact. Of Mallet, it was remarked, when he wrote the life of Bacon, that he had forgotten, Bacon was a philoſopher: This learned perſon, when treating of a law queſtion, forgets, that Bacon was a lawyer. And, is it neceſſary to prove, that Bacon, as he was born, in 1561, and died, in 1626, was the contemporary of Shakſpeare; who was born, in 1564, and died, in 1616?

It is, however, of ſome importance to ſhow, that *the law* will not always prove *the fact*; though *the fact* may ſometimes prove *the law*. Were it a queſtion, whether there exiſted in England, during that period, any gaming-houſes, the learned coadjutor of the public accuſer would, doubtleſs, quote the ſtatute of the 33 Henry 8, which prohibited ſuch houſes; in order to prove the fact, that there could have been none: Yet, that this evidence is inconcluſive, a little inquiry would have ſatisfied him. Queen Elizabeth, in the 28th of her reign granted to Thomas Cornwallis a licenſe "to make graunts for keeping of "gaming-houſes, and uſing of unlawful games, "contrarie to the ſtatute of 33 Hen. 8. (*q*)" We now perceive, that an act of parliament

(*q*) Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. iii. p. 161.

itſelf is not concluſive evidence, to prove *the fact* aſſerted; which is eſtabliſhed by different evidence of ſuperior force. "There are no "tricks in plain and ſimple faith." When *the fact* riſes in the horizon, by the production of *unſealed* bills of various kinds, the ſtrong beams of *truth* ſoon diſperſe the clouds of reports, year-books, and law authorities, which, in the preſent day, *only obſcure the ſcene, which they once illuminated* (*r*).

But, this learned perſon perſiſts in aſking, "Were there no inſtruments, like this in "Shakſpeare's name, then uſed by merchants, "and others in their confidential tranſactions? "It will be found, on the contrary, that the "want of them was a theme of complaint for "more than half a century after his death." He perſeveres, nevertheleſs, in this dark ſearch,

(*r*) The famous Richard, Earl of Warwick, on the 2d of November 1454, wrote to Sir Thomas Todenham to borrow ten, or twenty pounds; promiſing "We ſhall ſend "it you again afore new-year's day, with the grace of God, "as we are a true knight." [Fenn's Letters, vol. i. p. 87.] Here, then, is a curious ſpecimen of an *unſealed* bill of *knight-hood*. To this bill, however, the learned Mr. Serjeant Vavaſor would have objected: "Here are no words of "obligation; for a *promiſe* does *not conſtitute an obligation*." [Inquiry, 376.] There is ſcarcely an abſurdity, that ſome philoſophers have not maintained: And, hardly a chicane, which ſome lawyers have not practiſed!

though *the fact* was blazing before his eyes: For, there undoubtedly were *unsealed* bills, in the practice of England, before Shakspeare was born. I have produced a genuine *note of hand*, dated, in July 1596. The public accuser has produced three *unsealed* bills, of various forms. His learned coadjutor has seen, in the well known treatises on *common assurances*, *unsealed* bills of every shape. Lord Bacon spoke familiarly of *unsealed* bills; and assigned them their proper rank among book debts, and verbal contracts (*s*). Yet, notwithstanding all those authorities, the learned person "plays fast and "loose with faith: so jests with heaven."

It will be found, on the contrary, that it was not the want of *unsealed* bills, but the want of *negotiable* qualities in them, which was the real "theme of constant complaint." The learned person will quote the statute of (*t*) Anne, which was made to give those ne-

(*s*) The Statute of Usury, 13 Eliz. ch. 8. makes void "All bandes, contractes, and assurances, collaterall, or other:" This proves how various *common assurances* then were. Sir John Harrington has an epigram "On one that lent money "on sure band:"—

"And for your more assurance you shall have
"What obligation, you yourself will crave;
"Or bill, or band, your payment to performe,
"Recognizance, statute, or any forme."

(*t*) 3-4 Ann. ch. ix. Inquiry, 394.

gotiable

gotiable qualities to *unſealed* notes; in order to prove, in contradiction to the fact, that ſuch notes did not exiſt before the ſtatute: Yet, the practice of the country, and the proceedings of the courts, as they are reported by the lawyers, and quoted by him, evince, that ſuch notes did exiſt, and circulate among traders; though the recovery of them, by ſuits at law, was obſtinately oppoſed, by *chichane in ermine*. But, I will not quote proceedings, which do no credit to the judges, who were unconſcious, that the law continually grew under the benches; and who had not then learned to facilitate the adminiſtration of juſtice, by applying the principles of the common law to the common practice of the country; as often as the ſpirit of commerce introduced new modes of buſineſs.

The ſtruggle, which was thus ſo long maintained in our juriſprudence, by the ſpirit of commerce, as it forced its way in the world, and the courts of juſtice, actuated as they were by prejudice, rather than principle, proves clearly, that *unſealed* notes did exiſt, did circulate; and were aſſigned, in fact, though they were not aſſignable, in law, during a century, previous to the ſtatute of Anne. The report of the Board of Trade,

in December 1697, is a proof of this (*u*) point; by ſhowing, that bonds, bills, and notes, were aſſigned, though not ſo frequently as neceſſity required. At the epoch of the Reſtoration, it was a common practice to pay debts, by aſſignment of other debts, and to transfer documents, by daily ſale (*v*).

(*u*) "And whereas a great part of trade is carried on by credit, and truſt in dealing, We humbly conceive, If it were enacted, that it ſhall not hereafter, be in the power of any perſon, that hath by any writing, under his hand, teſtified by two witneſſes, aſſigned or transferred, any bond, bill, or *note*, made to him by any other perſon, to make void, diſcharge, or releaſe the ſaid bond, bill, or note, or any of the money due on ſuch bond, bill, or note, or any part thereof, after ſuch aſſignment, made on the ſaid bond, bill, or note, but that ſuch aſſignee ſhall have the ſame right, power, and authority to ſue ſuch perſons, indebted by ſuch bond, bill, or note, in *his own name*, and to recover the money ſo due, as if ſuch bond, bill, or note, had been made originally to himſelf; that then, traders would *more frequently* take bonds, notes, or bills, for ſuch goods, as they may ſell, to be paid at time, and would transfer, and aſſign, the ſame to others, as their occaſions may require: And thereby make ſuch bonds, bills, and notes very uſeful and ſubſervient for the carrying on, and increaſing of trade."

(*v*) See, *The Scales of Commerce*, by Thomas Willsford, printed in 1660, fig. 2. which, as a treatiſe of book-keeping, ſhowing the practice of mercantile buſineſs, is a better authority, than a law report, ſhowing the practice of the courts of juſtice; which was governed by artificial principles, rather than by the uſages of commercial life.

But,

But, this practice, which neceſſity dictated, and convenience approved, was of a much older origin. The caſe, which is reported by Malynes, of a foreign factor, who purchaſed baize at Colcheſter, to be paid for in the bill of debt of a third perſon, would alone prove *the fact* (*w*). One of the firſt acts of King James's government, after his acceſſion, was, to prohibit, by proclamation, *the aſſignment of debts, and actions* (*x*). The practice, then, of *aſſigning debts*, was common, during the reign of Elizabeth. And, the accuſtomed buſineſs of the city of London was very different from what the reports of ſuits in Weſtminſter-hall ſeem to repreſent, as the varied tranſactions of mercantile bodies (*y*): Here, then, is another

(*w*) Malyne's Lex Merc. edit. 1622, p. 99: The bills were not, at that early period of our mercantile affairs, indorſed over, according to modern forms, but aſſigned, and often renewed to the aſſignee; who could then maintain a ſuit for the recovery of payment, in his own name.

(*x*) The proclamation was dated the 7th of May 1603, and may be ſeen in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 379.

(*y*) The following agreement, between two aldermen of London, which I found in a large collection of original papers, that had come from the Longville library, and which I lately purchaſed of Mr. Chapman, the bookſeller, I ſubmit to the reader; becauſe it ſhows the true nature of

another example, which proves, with ſtrong conviction, that ſhowing the law, even if it were accurately ſtated, does not eſtabliſh *the fact*.

The

real buſineſs; becauſe it bears on ſeveral topicks of this Inquiry; viz. the contraction of *Anno Dm̃i.*; the pointing *: //*; the *aſſignment* of Mr. Secretary *Cecil's bond*, in *ſatisfaction* of *a debt*; and becauſe this agreement proves incontrovertibly the poſitions in the text:—

"Sexto die Novembris *Anno Dm̃i:* 1602.

Articles of agreement made between the right worſhipful Sir John Hart and Sir Richard Martin knights and aldermen of London for the true payment of Eight hundred poundes due vnto the ſaid Sir John by the ſaid Sir Richard *: //* in manner following—viz*t*: *//*

£100—That Sir John Hart ſhall have the benefitt of a certain bond of Mr. Secretary Cecill's of £100 principall debt, which is due to the ſaid Sir Richard, which bond Sir John Hart doth accept for. £100: /

£400—That Sir Richard Martin ſhall pay or cauſe to bee paid unto the ſaid Sir John Hart the ſume of £400 out of certain ſalt workes belonging unto the ſaid Sir Richard Martin by £200 ℔ A°—viz*t*. At every ſix monoths £100 and for the true payment thereof at the ſaid tymes or within xl*tie* days after every of the ſaid times Sir John Hart is to have good ſureties ſuch as hee ſhall like of

£300—That Sir Richard Martin ſhall pay or cauſe to be paid unto Sir John Hart £300 more, by £100 at every ſix months end, the firſt month to begin from Chriſtmas

The learned coadjutor of the public accuſer fails, then, in ſeveral points: Firſt, he fails, in arguing againſt *the fact:* For, various forms of *unſealed bills*, which may be called *notes* of *hand*, being produced, it was abſurd to inquire, whether they exiſted, at the epochs of their ſeveral dates, which go back to the year 1589: Secondly, he fails, in ſuppoſing, that proof of the *non-aſſignment* of notes would prove their *non-exiſtence:* Thirdly, he fails, in producing the law-reports of various ſuits, that were inſtituted, for enforcing the pay-

> Chriſtmas next, after the date above written, putting in good bonds togither with ſufficient ſureties unto Sir John Hart ſuch as hee ſhall like of for the due payment thereof accordingly
>
> In conſideration whereof Sir John Hart is contented to yeeld up and deliver unto the ſaid Sir Richard Martin or his aſſigns all ſuch writings and evidences which he hath of the ſaid Sir Richard, at or before the twentieth day of January next enſuing the day above written, ſo that the ſaid Sir Richard doo performe every of thabove mentioned articles within or uppon ſaid twentieth of January otherwiſe all thinges are to remayne unto the ſaid Sir John Hart as they do at this preſent, and theſe articles to be void to all intents and purpoſes
>
> In Witnes whereof the ſaid Sir John Hart to theſe preſents hath ſett his hand the day and year firſt above written."
>
> (ſigned) John Hart:

ment

ment of goldſmiths notes, promiſſory notes, *unſealed* bills, inland bills, foreign bills; which prove, that ſuch documents did exiſt, and were aſſigned: And laſtly, he fails, in adducing an argument, which, however learned, is wholly irrelevant to the queſtion, with regard to the exiſtence of ſuch a note as Shakſpeare's, during that buſy age.

But, this learned perſon will be, doubtleſs, more happy in ſome other of his topicks. "The Chief Juſtice [Holt], was as firm, "ſays he, in the conſcientious diſcharge of "his duty *againſt the law merchant*, as on "another memorable occaſion he had been "againſt *the law of parliament*." It ſeemeth to have been the opinion of the Chief Juſtice, as it is of this learned perſon, that *the law merchant*, and *the law of parliament*, were not parts, nay are not important branches, of the law of the land. *The Statutum de Stapulis* of (z) Edward 3d, appears to have been forgotten in

(z) 27 Ed. 3. ſtat. 2. ch. 1. All people of the Staple ſhall be ruled by *the law merchant*, and not by *the common law*. *The Statutum de Stapulis* formed, then, a kind of mercantile code. By change of circumſtances, the whole body of traders of England *became the people of the Staple*, who were entitled, in their commercial tranſactions, to the protection of that ſtatute,

in Westminster-hall, although it was remembered on 'Change. "The merchants were "foiled in all their attempts," he adds, to obtain justice, according to the nature of their grievances. He immediately assigns the reason: "The circulation of promissory notes "however was not opposed by Westminster-"hall alone. Many of the mercantile in-"terest, and even Sir Josiah Child, among "the rest, originally declared against" [the circulation of promissory notes.] I could set against that assertion a chronological series of *Tracts on Trade*, which would demonstrate this self-evident position, that the merchants, who generally understand their own interest, were the greatest promoters of the circulation of every species of mercantile paper: And, the fact is proved, by the practice. Yes; Sir Josiah Child was very zealous against this circulation of notes! For, he has written a whole chapter, to show the vast benefit, which would result to the country, from

statute. But, it was long before the judges could be made sensible of those truths; or that the spirit of trade, and the practice of the people, had produced a kind of revolution in the law, without their perceiving the change, or adverting, that it was their duty to accommodate the proceedings of the courts to the new habits of the people.

the

the transference of debts (*a*). Child, and the merchants, were brought upon the ſtage; in order to exhibit *promiſſory notes*, as a *new circulation* of recent times. But, the fact "outſpeaks the actors." It has been ſhown, by every mode of proof, that notes of hand did exiſt, though not in name, during Elizabeth's reign; that debts were *transferred*, though they were not indorſable, in that period; that the inveſtigation of *the law*, were the law clearly ſettled, cannot over-rule *the fact*, when it is once aſcertained.

"But, the great epoch, in the hiſtory of "paper credit, is the formation of the Bank

(*a*) Diſcourſe on Trade, 1690, ch. v. p. 106.—Sir Joſiah Child, indeed, and every other writer, may be made to aſſert any thing, by *interpolation*. In the Inquiry, p. 396, Sir Joſiah is ſaid to have originally declared againſt "the innovated "practice of bankers; and the new invention of caſhiering." Now; the firſt clauſe about *bankers* was taken from his Diſcourſe, p. 17, the ſecond clauſe about *caſhiering* was taken from a different paragraph, in p. 18; though both are put together in the Inquiry. Sir Joſiah was arguing in 1690, during the preſſures of that moment, againſt the *innovated practice* of taking money from trade to lend to the government, during that diſtreſſing war, and the *new invention* of *caſhiering*, in buying up diſcredited public ſecurities. Child was ſo far from *originally* declaring againſt the practice of bankers, that he *originally* wrote in favour of bankers. [See his *Brief Obſervations*, 1668, p. 5.]

"of

" of England, in 1694," says this learned person (*b*): And, this is said by him, partly to shew the recent establishment of paper credit; but more to ascertain the true birth and parentage of promissory notes. It is certain, however, that paper credit was introduced, and promissory notes originated, upwards of a century, before the great epoch of 1694. Paper credit was compleatly established, during the civil wars, though it had its origin in an earlier age (*c*). Yet, this learn-

(*b*) Inquiry, 388.

(*c*) *Debentures* were issued, for paying soldiers arrears, in 1648 [Scobel, 1648, ch. 113;] and, these *debentures* were issued, as a state resource, in the subsequent years. These debentures were declared, by the ordinance, to be in the nature of bonds, or bills, payable to *assignees*, each debenture to be for £.10, or under. [Scobel, 1649, ch. 42.] Here, then, we see paper credit, exchequer bills, or bonds, and bills, payable to *assignees*, in small sums, for the purpose of currency. And, see the ordinance, 1650, ch. 29-49—1652, ch. 6-16. for *public faith paper credit*, which, in fact, began with the war. [Scobel, 1642, ch. 5-6-7.] But, this paper credit may be traced to Elizabeth's reign, if not to an earlier period. In January 1589, a warrant was issued to Sir Francis Walsingham to make out *privy seals* for a *loan*. [Burghley's Diary, in Murden, p. 789.] Sir John Harrington has an epigram, " on lending on *privy seals*," in the time of Elizabeth:—

" While God preserves the *prince* ne're be dismay'd,
" But, if *she* fail, be sure we shall be paid."

ed

ed perſon quotes WARBURTON, another learned perſon, for declaring "paper credit to "be an invention, ſince the time of William "the third (*d*)." Happy! might it be, if learned perſons would deal a little more in facts, and a little leſs in aſſertions. The origin of the *goldſmiths notes* is aſſigned to the year 1673 (*e*). Yet, theſe too may be traced back to an earlier æra. They became viſible to every eye, about the year 1650, with the *debentures*, and *public faith paper money* of thoſe diſtracted times (*f*). But, there were goldſmiths, in London, during the reign of James 1ſt, who dealt in gold and ſilver; who were *caſhiers*; and who, conſequently, iſſued notes, as incidental to their trade (*g*). From this hiſtorical

(*d*) Inquiry, 400. (*e*) Inquiry, 383-85.

(*f*) John Polexfen, an intelligent member of the firſt Board of Trade, when treating of this ſubject, in 1696, ſays, "there were no footſteps of goldſmiths' notes, paſſing for "money, till ſince anno 1650." [*Diſcourſe on Trade* and *Coin*, 1697, p. 64.] And, he adds, "that the paſſing of pa-"per, in payments, was not much practiſed till after anno "1660." [Ib. 68.]

(*g*) Vid. *The Declaration to Parliament*, by Thomas Violet of London, goldſmith, 1643, p. 22. Banks, and bankers, became ſoon familiar to the wits of thoſe times; as we may infer from the commendatory verſes, which were prefixed

cal deduction, we now perceive, that thoſe commercial anachroniſms were brought from "ſtalky darkneſs" into noon day, by thoſe learned perſons; in order to ſuit their ſeveral ſyſtems; the one, to juſtify the fooliſh invective of Pope againſt paper credit; the other, to prove, from the recent origin of paper credit, and of goldſmiths notes, the modern epoch of notes of hand; as if there were any intimate connection between the one kind of do-

fixed to Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, 1647; and which George Hills addreſſed to Fletcher:—

"Monarch of wit! Great *magazine of wealth*;
"From whoſe *rich banke*, by a Promethean ſtealth."

The habits, and language, of merchants, during the preceding age, may be ſeen in the *Beggar's Buſh* of Beaumont and Fletcher:—

"There was never brought to harbour ſo rich a bottome, "but his *bill* would paſſe unqueſtioned for her *lading*."

"Nor lend upon the *aſſurance* of a *well-penn'd letter*, al- "though a challenge ſecond the denyall."

"Are you the owners of the ſhip, that laſt night put into "the harbour?—

"Both of the ſhip, and lading.—What's the *fraught?* "Indigo, quitchineel, choiſe Chyna ſtuffs; and cloth of gold "brought from Camball.—Rich lading; for which I were "your chapman;—but I am already out of *caſh*.—I'lle *give* "*you day*, for the moiety of all. How long?—Six months.— "'Tis a faire offer: which (if we agree about the prizes) "[prices] I, with thanks, accept of; and will make preſent "payment of the reſt."

cument,

cument, and the other; as if the *unſealed* bill, which is the original note of hand, under various forms, but a different name, had not exiſted, in fact, for ages before paper credit was underſtood, or goldſmiths notes were circulated. But, prejudice and error are the conſtant companions of each other. The learned coadjutor emulates the public accuſer, in arguing againſt *the fact*, which cannot be denied; and in aſſuming the point, which he undertook to prove:—

" ——————————— *That one error*
" Fills him with faults; makes him run through all ſins.

I might here ſubmit this *Apology* for the *Believers*, to the juſt conſideration of this critical court, who have been as *patient as a gentle ſtream*, without taking the benefit of a recapitulation. But, the ſumming up of the evidence to the jury ſhows the nature of the iſſue between the parties; clears away all the rubbiſh of ſophiſtry from the cauſe; and collects all the rays of proof into one *focus* of demonſtrative concluſion. The believers were accuſed of being *the partizans* of a *clumſy* and *bungling forgery*; without having *the ſpirit* to *defend their belief*, or *the virtue to retract their error*. They now ſubmit ſuch an Apology, as could be made in ſome haſte, amid other avocations,

avocations, without much previous ſtore of materials, or any great ſubſequent ſtudy. They have produced a *general argument*, which, they think, cannot be refuted, for proving, that they ought, according to the eſtabliſhed rules of logic, to have believed, in the firſt inſtance, thoſe *Miſcellaneous Papers* to be genuine. By declining to meet this general argument, the public accuſer betrays his own conſciouſneſs, that it is not to be refuted. But, he attempts to overthrow the primary conviction, which is the reſult of thoſe general reaſonings, by particular inveſtigations. In doing this, he makes *a thouſand* objections, ſucceſſively, to the *Miſcellaneous Papers*, both publiſhed, and unpubliſhed. His objections have, in their turn, been minutely examined, not by vague declamation, but by oppoſing fact to fiction, and true logic to deluſive ſophiſtry. By theſe means, have nine hundred and ninety-nine of his objections been found wanting, in the balance of truth. It is, therefore, humbly hoped, that the public accuſer *ſhall take nothing by his motion*, when he prays, that the believers may be adjudged to the critical pillory, for having, on very diſputable points, thought differently from him; and becauſe they ſtill think, contrary to his judg-

ment, that thoſe *Miſcellaneous Papers* cannot eaſily be convicted of ſpuriouſneſs; and that ſome of thoſe papers, like the famous poſition of Berkley, denying the exiſtence of matter, which it is ſo difficult to confute, by logical reaſonings, cannot, by fair argumentation, be ſhown to be counterfeit, although *ſelf-ſufficiency* may *ſuppoſe* them to be a *clumſy fraud* (*b*). But, having undertaken *impoſſibilities*, the public accuſer has failed, egregiouſly, in proving his point. And, it remains for the wiſdom of this court, when it ſhall conſider his erroneous pleading, to admoniſh the ſophiſt, who, is deluded by ſelf-conceit, how he undertakes, hereafter, by

" *Murdering impoſſibility*, to make
" What cannot be, ſlight work."

Yet, *grave admoniſhments* prevail not with him, though they be given by the *ſovereign will*. He reſolves to make *ſlight work* with the believers, whom, for their various offences, he divides into ſeveral claſſes, according to their reſpective degrees of guilt: *The* RING-LEADERS, who "know nothing of the hiſ-" tory of Shakſpeare, nothing of the hiſ-" tory of the ſtage, or the hiſtory of the " Engliſh language (*i*):"—The HARDENED

(*b*) Inquiry, 352. (*i*) Inquiry, 352-363.

OFFENDERS, "who haſtily gave judgment on "a matter which they did not underſtand; "who knew nothing of old hand writing, and "nothing of old language (*k*)." Theſe are weighty accuſations, no doubt. And, a juſt regard for their own reputations, as antiquaries, ſcholars, and heralds, renders it neceſſary for the believers to make ſome *additional apology*; in order to ſhow, that they are not quite ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of the ſtage, of the ſtudies of Shakſpeare, or of the ſucceſſive ſtate of the Engliſh language, as the public accuſer conceits. They cannot remain ſilent, without pleading guilty to the charge, which, as it attacks reputation, involves life in the iſſue. Driven thus by neceſſity, the believers may exclaim with Lear:

"——— We know not how *conceit* may rob
"The treaſury of life, when life itſelf
"Yields to the theft ———."

§ IX.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE STAGE.

When we turn our attention to the paſtimes of our anceſtors, who were brave, but illiterate, we perceive, that they delighted more in ſuch ſports, as reſembled the *grappling vi-*

(*k*) Ib. 364.

gour of *war*, than the *modeſt ſtillneſs* of *peace*. *Tournaments* were, in thoſe times, not only the delight of barons, bold; but of ladies, gay (*a*). In the regulation of *the houſehold* by Henry vii, it is *ordained*, that three dayes after the *coronation*, "the Queene, and all the "ladies in their freſheſt array, may go to be-"hold the (*b*) *juſtes*;" but, not to ſee the *play*. Even as late as 1515, Henry viii, on May-day, in the morning, with Queen Katherine, and many lords, and ladies, rode *a-maying* from Greenwich to Shooter's-hill; where they were entertained by Robin Hood, and his men, to their great contentment (*c*). While the people were yet groſs, the ſports of the

(*a*) Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. ii. ſ. 7.

(*b*) Houſehold Ordinances pub. by the Ant. Soc. 1790, p. 124.—"Juſts, and tournaments, were a court recreation, "in former days, at ſolemn times, and laſted to the begin-"ning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In April 1560, were "great juſts at Weſtminſter, and running at the tilt." [Strype's Stow, vol. i. p. 300.] This obſervation might have been extended, perhaps, to the end of that reign: For, I find *a payment*, on the 29th of November 1601, "unto "George Johnſon, keeper of *the Spring-garden*, of £.6, for "a ſcaffold, which he had erected againſt the park-wall, "in the tilt-yard; and which was taken for the uſe of the "*Countie* Egmound, to ſee the tilters." [Council-reg^r.]

(*c*) Stow's Hiſt. of London, edit. 1754, vol. i. p. 304.

field

field being agreeable to their natures, were more encouraged, from policy, than the effeminate paſtimes of "*a city-feaſt.*"

It was with the revival of learning, during the middle ages, that a new ſpecies of entertainment was introduced, which was addreſſed rather to the intellect, than to the eye. A religious colloquy, which was aptly called a *myſtery*, was contrived, without much invention, indeed, and without plan; conſiſting, often, of the allegorical characters, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Sin*, and *Death*. The *myſteries* were originally repreſented in religious houſes, in which places only learning was, in thoſe days, cultivated; and whence inſtruction of every kind was diſperſed among a rude people. The ancient myſteries were introduced upon the ſame principle, which has often been adduced in defence of the modern drama, that they *inſtructed, by pleaſing*, and *pleaſed, by inſtructing*. While few could read; and at a time when few were allowed to peruſe *the Scriptures*, religious truths of the greateſt importance were, in this manner, pleaſantly conveyed to illiterate minds. Thus, too, was the rudeneſs of their manners gradually changed into the ſofter modes of poliſhed life: And, at length, the *myſteries* ob-

tained a conqueſt over the *tournament*, which was leſs reliſhed, as manners were more refined, and were leſs frequented, as the mind was elevated to a greater deſire of gentle peace.

But, the invention of printing, and the introduction of learning, made *the myſteries* of ruder times, leſs neceſſary; when a new age was induced by more knowledge, and civility, to practiſe new cuſtoms. Henry the viiith tried to aboliſh *the myſteries* by act of (*d*) parliament; and the Puritans with a wilder ſpirit, but more effectual ſucceſs, exploded the religious dramas, as ſinful, and ſacrilegious; though they had been authoriſed by popes, for the propagation of the goſpel, and encouraged by biſhops, for the poliſh of manners.

As the people advanced from rudeneſs to refinement, the *myſteries* were ſucceeded by *the moralities*. Simplicity now gave way a little to art. Characters began to be delineated, by the introduction of hiſtorical perſonages, in the room of allegorical beings; and plot to be attempted, by the unravelment of ſome fable, for the inculcation of ſome moral. The reign of Edward the 4th is ſuppoſed to

(*d*) 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1.

be

be the epoch of *moralities*. The reign of Henry the 7th was the period of the greateſt prevalence of thoſe moralities: But, they were not often acted, during Elizabeth's reign of gradual improvement.

The *moralities* gave place, in their turn, to *the* (*e*) INTERLUDE; *ſomething played*, ſays Johnſon, at the *intervals of feſtivity*, a farce, or drama, of the loweſt order. It ſeems certain, then, that in every period of our annals, we had players of ſome ſpecies, for the benefit of inſtruction, and the purpoſe of amuſement. Henry the viith, "the qwene, and my ladye "the Kyng's moder," amuſed themſelves with a play at Candlemas (*f*). Henry the viiith was, probably, the firſt of our kings, who formed an eſtabliſhment of players, for the amuſement of his many *qwenes*; but, he was the firſt, who introduced *a maſter of the revels*,

(*e*) Henry 8th placed on his houſehold eſtabliſhment *eight players of interludes*, at £. 3. 6. 8. each, yearly. This number, and ſalary, continued to the reign of James 1ſt. The eight players could only preſent a drama of a very ſimple, and imperfect, form.

(*f*) Steevens's Shak. vol. i. p. 151-2. Hen. 7th, who was not apt to put his hand in his pocket, gave, as charity to the *players*, that begged by the way, 6 ſhs. 8ds. There were, in his reign, not only *players*, *in London*, but, *Frenſh players*.

for promoting mirth, and at the ſame time preſerving order.

But, *abuſe*, and *the uſe*, are the neceſſary concomitants of each other. Even the *Reformation*, a neceſſary good, brought with it religious conteſt, its concomitant evil. The poets, and the players, who were to live by pleaſing, preſented to the people ſuch *dramas*, as pleaſed, rather than inſtructed; offered to a coarſe populace what was profitable, rather than what was fit.

" Next, *Comedy* appear'd, with great applauſe,
" Till her licentious and abuſive tongue,
" Weaken'd the magiſtrate's coercive power."

Such a government, indeed, as Henry the viiith bequeathed to his infant ſon, neceſſarily produced every kind of grievance. One of the firſt complaints of Edward VIth's reign was the ſeditiouſneſs of the "common players " of interludes and playes, as well within the " city of London, as elſe where." On the 6th of Auguſt 1547, there iſſued "*A proclamacion for the inhibition of players* (*g*)." And,

(*g*) I here print this *document*, which has been miſtated, and miſrepreſented, from the collection "Of ſuche proclamacions, as have been ſette furthe by the Kynge's Majeſtie," and imprinted by Richard Grafton, in 1550:—

" Foraſmuche, as a greate nober of thoſe, that be com-

" mon

And, *the maker* was, in that reign, ſent to the Tower, for the writing of plays; the offence being

" mon plaiers of enterludes and plaies, as well within the
" citie of London, as els where, within the realme, do for
" the moſte part plaie ſuche interludes, as contain matter,
" tendyng to ſedicion, and contempnyng of ſundery good
" orders & lawes, whereupon are growen, and daily are
" like to growe, and enſue muche diſquiet, diuiſio, tumultes
" & uprores in this realme the Kynges Majeſtie, by the ad-
" viſe and conſent of his dereſt uncle, Edward duke of So-
" merſet, gouernour of his perſone, and protector of his
" realmes dominions and ſubiectes, and the reſt of his high-
" nes priuie counſall, ſtraightly chargeth and commaundeth,
" al and euery his majeſties ſubiectes, of whatſoever ſtate,
" order, or degree thei bee, that frō the ix daie of this pre-
" ſent moneth of Auguſt, untill the feaſt of all Sainctes nexte
" commyng, thei ne any of them, openly or ſecretly, plaie in
" the Engliſh tongue, any kinde of interlude, plaie, dia-
" logue, or other matter ſet furthe in forme of plaie, in any
" place, publique or priuate, within this realme upō pain
" that whoſoever ſhall plaie in Engliſhe any ſuche play, in-
" terlude, dialogue, or other matter, ſhall ſuffre impriſon-
" ment, & further puniſhmēt, at the pleaſure of his majeſtie.
" For the better execution whereof, his majeſtie, by the ſaid
" aduiſe and conſent, ſtraightly chargeth and commaūdeth,
" all and ſinguler maiors, ſherifes, bailifes, conſtables, hed-
" borowes, tithyng men, juſtices of peace, and al other his
" majeſties hed officers in al ye partes throughout the realme,
" to geve order and ſpeciall heede, that this proclamacion
" be in all behalfes, well and truely kept and obſerued, as
" thei and every of them, teder his highnes pleaſure, and
" will auoyde his indignacion."

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being probably aggravated by disobedience to some injunction (*b*). The jealousy, and strictness, of that period, would only permit the players of the highest noblemen to play, within their own houses (*i*). The court of Edward

The proclamation being but temporary, did not take down, but only clear the stage, for a time, says Fuller; reformed enterludes (as they term them) being afterward permitted: Yea, in the first of Queen Elizabeth, scripture-plaies were acted even in the church it self, which, in my opinion, the more pious, the more profane, stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majestie of God's word. Such *pageants* might *inform*, not *edifie*, though indulged the ignorance of that age: For, though children may be *played* into *learning*, *all* must be wrought into *religion*, by *ordinances* of divine *institutions*, and the *means* ought to be as *serious*, as the *end* is *secret*. [Church Hist. Cent. xvi. p. 392.] It appears, says Mr. Malone, "from the proclamation [of Edward "the vith] that the favourers of Popery about that time had "levelled several dramatick invectives against Archbishop "Cranmer, and the doctrines of the Reformers." [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 25.] Yet, we see, that the proclamation does not bear him out in his assertion, which was probably made, like some other of his assertions, without seeing the document.

(*b*) In the council-register, appears the following order: —"At Greenwich, 10th June 1552, It was this day order-"ed, That the Lord Treasurer should send for the poet, "which is in the Tower *for making plays*, and to deliver "him."

(*i*) A letter was written from the privy council, on the 21st June 1551, to the Marquis of Dorset; "signifying "license

Edward had, however, a few joyous moments. Military *triumphs* were exhibited "at Shrove-"tide, and at Twelftide (*k*):" At the feſtivals of Chriſtmas, and Candlemas, *A lord of the paſtimes was appointed*, and *playes* were acted: and for the greater *joyouſance*, poets of the greateſt talents were ſought, to promote feſtivity. George Ferrers, a perſon of ſuperior rank, who was educated at Oxford, and entered at Lincoln's-inn; and who was a gentleman belonging to the Protector Somerſet, was employed, as the lord of the paſtimes (*l*). William Baldwyn, who was a graduate of Oxford, and another of the celebrated authors of the *Myrrour for Magiſtrates*, was appointed to *ſet*

"licenſe to be granted, for to have his players, play only in "his lordſhip's preſence." [Council-reg^r.]

(*k*) On the 12th Janry. 1547, a warrant was iſſued for £.60. 8*s*. 10*d*. to Sir Thomas Darcy, for pikes, lances, and other neceſſaries, for the *Triumph*, at Shrove-tide; and for weapons at Twelf-tide. [Council-reg^r.]

(*l*) A warrant was iſſued, on the 30th November 1552, to pay George *Ferrys*, being appointed to be Lord of the Paſtimes, in the King's Majeſties houſe, this Chriſtmas £.100, towards the neceſſary charges. [Council-reg^r.] Stow ſays, that he ſo pleaſantly behaved himſelf, the King had great delight in his paſtimes. George Ferrers, who, we ſee, was called *Ferrys*, died in 1579. There is an accurate account of him in Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 213.

forth

forth a play (*m*). Edward had a regular eſtabliſhment of *players of interludes*; and of (*n*) *mynſtrels*, and *ſinging* men, who ſung in the King's preſence (*o*). But, the feſtivities of Edward's days were ſoon clouded over by the reign of blood, which ſucceeded his premature demiſe.

The gloom, which hung over the court of Mary, did not ſpread far beyond the influence of her preſence. In London, and in Canterbury, in Eſſex, and in Yorkſhire, plays continued to be acted, becauſe they were agreeable to the country, however diſpleaſing to the court, which, in its own darkneſs, ſaw danger from merriment, and, from its own weakneſs, perceived ſedition, in the hilarity of

(*m*) A letter was written, on the 28th Jañry 155$\frac{3}{4}$, to Sir Thomas Cawerden, the maſter of the revels, to furniſh William Baldwin, who was appointed to ſet forth a play, before the King, upon Candlemas-day, at night, with all neceſſaries.

(*n*) In 1547, the eſtabliſhment conſiſted of Hugh Woudehous, marſhal, of John Abbes, Robert Stouchy, Hugh Grene, and Robert Norman, mynſtrels, whoſe wages amounted to each fifty marks a year. [Council-regiſter.]

(*o*) A warrant was iſſued on the 14 June 1548, to pay Richard Atkinſon, in *recompence* of forty marks yearly, that he had of the King's Majeſtie for ſinging before him. [Council-regiſter.]

the

the drama. Special orders were, accordingly, iſſued to prevent the acting of plays in particular places (*p*). When theſe failed of effect, a general order was iſſued from the ſtar-chamber, in Eaſter term 1557; requiring the juſtices of the peace, in every ſhire, to ſuffer no players, whatſoever the matter were, to play, within their ſeveral juriſdictions. But, theſe injunctions, as they were diſpleaſing to the people, were not every where enforced; and the ſtrolling players found means to ſave themſelves from the penalties, which the law inflicted on vagabonds (*q*). The magiſtrates of

(*p*) The privy-council wrote to Lord Rich, on the 14th of February 155⅝ "that where [as] there is a ſtage play "appointed to be played this Shrovetide at Hatfield-Bra-"dock, in Eſſex, his Lordſhip is willed to ſtay the ſame, "and to examine, who ſhould be the players, what the ef-"fect of the play is, with ſuch other circumſtances as he "ſhall think meet, and to ſignify the ſame hither." Inquiry ſoon found, however, that neither the play, nor the players, were very dangerous. And, on the 19th of the ſame month a letter of thanks was written by the privy-council "to the "Lord Rich for his travel in ſtaying the ſtage play; and "requiring him for that he knoweth the players to be honeſt "houſeholders and quiet perſons, to ſet them again at li-"berty, and to have ſpecial care to ſtop the like occaſions "of aſſembling the people hereafter."

(*q*) See the letter from the privy-council to the preſident of the north, dated the 30th April 1556, in Strype's Mem. vol.

of Canterbury were remarkably active in obeying thoſe orders; in committing the players, and ſeizing their lewd play-book (*r*). But, the

vol. iii. appx. 185; and Lodge's Illuſt. vol. i. p. 212. In the ſubſequent year, the orders, which were ſent into the north, were iſſued to every other ſhire. A letter of thanks was written by the privy-council, on the 11th of July 1557, to the Lord Rich, touching the players; and ſignifying to his Lordſhip "that order was given in the ſtar-chamber "openly to the juſtices of the peace of every ſhire, this laſt "term, that they ſhould ſuffer no players, whatſoever the "matter was, to play, eſpecially this ſummer, which order "his Lordſhip is willed to obſerve, and to cauſe them that "ſhall enterprize the contrary to be puniſhed."—A ſimilar letter was written, on the ſame day, to the juſtices of the peace for the county of Eſſex; "ſignifying, that as they "were admoniſhed this laſt term in the ſtar-chamber, it is "thought ſtrange, that they have not accordingly accom-"pliſhed the ſame." [Council-regiſter.]

(*r*) The privy-council, on the 27th of June 1557, wrote a letter to "John Fuller, the Mayor of Canterbury, of thanks "for his diligence, in the apprehending and committing of "the players to ward, whom he is willed to keep ſo, until "he ſhall receive further orders from hence. And in the "mean [time] their lewd play-book is committed to the "conſideration of the King's and Queen's Majeſty's learned "council, who are willed to declare what the ſame waieth "unto in the law; whereupon he ſhall receive further order "from hence, touching the ſaid players." On the 11th of Auguſt 1557, another letter was ſent "to the mayor and "aldermen of Canterbury, with the lewd play-book, ſent "hither by them, and the examinations alſo of the players "thereof,

the mayor of London ſeems not, like his brother of Canterbury, to have merited, on that occaſion, the thanks of the privy-council, for his zeal againſt plays (*s*). On the 5th of September

" thereof, which they are willed to conſider, and to follow " the order hereof ſignified unto them, which was, that upon " underſtanding what the law was, touching the ſaid lewd " play, they ſhould thereupon proceed againſt the players " forthwith, according to the ſame, and the qualities of " their offences; which order, they are willed to follow, " without delay." [Council-regiſter of thoſe dates.]

(*s*) A letter was written by the privy-council, on the 4th June 1557, to the Lord-mayor of London, " That where [as] " there were yeſterday certain *naughty plays* played in Lon- " don (as the Lords here are informed) He is willed both " to make ſearch for the ſaid players; and having found " them, to ſend them to the commiſſioners for religion, to " be by them further ordered. And alſo to take order, that " no play be made henceforth within the city, except the " ſame be firſt ſeen and allowed and the players authoriſed." —On the 5th of September 1557, the privy-council wrote a letter to the Lord-mayor of London.—" To give order " forthwith, that ſome of his officers do forthwith repair to " *the Boars-head*, without Aldgate, where, the Lords are in- " formed a lewd play, called *a Sack full of News*, ſhall be " played this day; The players thereof, he is willed, to ap- " prehend, and to commit to ward, until he ſhall hear fur- " ther from hence; and to take their play-book from them, " and to ſend the ſame hither." The Lord-mayor appears, to have punctually obeyed. And, on the morrow, the privy-council wrote another letter to the ſame magiſtrate; " willing

September 1557, he was ordered to cauſe his officers forthwith to repair to the *Boars-head*, without Aldgate, and to apprehend the players, who were then, and there, to repreſent a lewd play, called *A Sack full of News*; which was thereupon ſo compleatly ſuppreſſed, as to prevent its ſubſequent publication. The repreſentation of this *lewd play* induced the privy-council to direct the Lord Mayor to ſuffer no plays to be played, within London, but *ſuch as were ſeen and allowed by the Ordinary*. In the mean time, the Queen continued the houſehold eſtabliſhment, which her father had made, for eight players of interludes. The great poet of her reign was John Heywood, the epigrammatiſt, who fled from the face of Elizabeth, at the revival of the reformation, which immediately ſucceeded her acceſſion. If any drama were printed, during the reign of Mary, it has eſcaped the eyes of the moſt diligent collectors.

" willing him to ſet at liberty the players, by him appre-
" hended, by order from hence yeſterday, and to give them
" and all other players throughout the city, in command-
" ment and charge, not to play any plays, but between the
" feaſts of All-ſaints and Shrovetide, and then only, ſuch
" *as are ſeen and allowed by the Ordinary.*" [Council-regiſter of thoſe dates.]

The

The ſun of Elizabeth roſe, in November 1558, and went not down, until March 1603. This reign, as it thus appears to have been long in its duration, and is celebrated for the wiſdom of its meaſures, enabled learning, by its kindly influences, to make a vaſt progreſs; and aſſiſted the ſtage, by its ſalutary regulations, to form a uſeful eſtabliſhment. What Auguſtus ſaid of Rome, may be remarked of Elizabeth, and the ſtage, that ſhe found it *brick*, and left it *marble*. The perſecutions of preceding governments had, indeed, left her without a theatre, without dramas, and without players (*t*). Theſe poſitions appear, from what has been already ſaid; and are confirmed by *A Breif Eſtimat*, which I diſcovered in the paper-office; and which, being very intereſting in its matter, and cu-

(*t*) From a document, in the paper-office, it appears, that Queen Elizabeth had ſuch an eſtabliſhment of muſicians, and players, as her father had made:—

MUSICIANS; as Trumpeters, Luters, Harpers, Singers, Rebecks, Vialls, Sagbutts, Bagpipes, Mynſtrels, Domeſlads, Flutes, Players on Inſtruments, Makers of Inſtruments; Salarys yearly - - - - - - - - - -	£200 — —
PLAYERS of INTERLUDES - - - - - -	21 13 4

rious in its manner, is ſubjoined in the marginal note below (*u*).

Such

(*u*) " A Brief Eſtimat off all the carges againſt Criſt-
" mas and Candellmas ffor iij Plays at Wyndſor wth. thare
" neceſſaries and provicions ffor the Carages and Recarages
" of the ſame ſtuff and all ordinarie charges and allſoo
" for the conveyinge of the ſtuff in to the cleane ayre and
" ſave kepinge of the ſame in Anno Sexto Elizabeth. And
" allſoo in the ſame yeare the IXth. of June Repayringe and
" new makinge of thre Maſkes with thare hole furniture
" and Div^s^ deviſſes and a Caſtle ffor ladies and a harboure
" ffor Lords and thre Harrolds and iiij Trompetours too
" bringe in the Deviſe with the Men of Armes and ſhowen
" at the Courtte of Richmond before the Quēns Matie.
" and the French Embaſſitours &^c^. And div^s^ [divers] Eyr-
" rings Repayringe and Tranſlatinge of ſunderie garments
" ffor playes att Criſtmas and Shroftid in Anno Septimo
" Elizabeth and many thinges mōnd [commiſſioned] and
" furneſhed wch. ware nott ſene and much ſtuff bought &^c^.

1563—Criſtmas wages or dieats of the Officers & Tayllors Paynters Silkwemen mēers [mercers] Lynen Drappers ꝑtie makers and other neceſſaries & provicions occupied and bought ffor the ſame - - - - - - - £ 39 11 4

1563—Candellmas ffollowinge wages or dieats of the officers and Tayll^ors^. Silkwemen mēers [mercers] Skynars and ꝑtie makers and other neceſſaries and provicions - - - - - - - 10 6 5

1564—Eyrringe [airing] and Repayringe in Aprill ffollowinge wages or dieats of

the

Such was the ſtate of the drama, when Shakſpeare was born. We ſhall perceive that, before he came out upon the ſtage, great improvements had been made in the plays;

the officers and Tayllors ꝑvicions and neceſſaries & other ordinarie charges £ 8 5 6

1564—The IXth. of June Tranſlattinge new
At Richmo^t makinge of thre maſkes and other
Mons Gonvi Deviſſes againſt the French Embaſſitours cominge to Richmond wages or dieats of the officers and Tayllors payntars workinge uppon the Caſtle and other deviſſes & mcers [mercers] ffor ſarſnet and other ſtuff and Lynen Drappars ffor canvas to cov-[cover] y^t withal and Silkwemen for ffrenge and taſſalles to garneſh the old garments to make them ſeme freſh agayne and other ꝑvicions & neceſſaries - - - - - - - - 87 9 6

1564—Erryinge [airing] Repayringe in Aguſt followinge wages or dieats of the officers & Tayllo^rs. Silkwemen for ffrenge & taſſells and other neceſſaries 11 18 4

1564—Erryinge [airing] in September followinge wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllo^rs. & other ꝑvicions and neceſſaries - - - - - - - - 8 6 8

1564—Criſtmas Anno Septimo Elizabeth
Edwd Hayedy wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllo^rs. payntars workinge div^s [divers] Cities and Towns

plays; in the actors; and in the theatre; but that much was ſtill wanting to reduce dramatic repreſentations into the moſt perfect form.

When

Carvers Silkewemen for frenge & taſſells mēers [mercers] ffor Sarſnett and other Stuff and Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov˜ [cover] div˜ [divers] townes and howſſes and other Deviſſes and Clowds for a Maſke and a Showe and a playe by the Childerne of the Chaple ffor Rugge bumbayſt an cottone ffor hoſſe and other p̄vicions and neceſſaries - - - - £ 87 7 8

Erryinge [airing] in lenevery ffor cayrtene playes by the gramar ſkolle of Weſtmynſte^r and the Childerne of Powles wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllo^rs. Mercers and other provicions - - - - - - - - - - 8 6 8

1564—The 18th of Februerie wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllors paynttars workinge uppon div˜ [divers] Cities and Towns and the Emperours Pallace & other Deviſſes carvars mēers for ſarſnett and other ſtuff & Lynen Drappars for canvas to cov˜ [cover] the Towns with all and other p̄vicions for a playe maid by Sir Percival Hartts Sones wch. a maſke of huntars and div˜ [divers] deviſſes and a Rocke or hill ffor the 9

Sir Percivall Hart's Sons

Muſſes

When we throw our eyes upon the ſcenic paſtimes of thoſe days, we ſee that Queen Elizabeth was chiefly entertained by children; by the children of Paul's; by the children of

	Muſſes to ſinge uppon wth. a vayne of farſnett drawn upp and downe before them &c^a^. - - - - - -	£ 57 10 —
1564—Gentillmen of the Innes of Court Diana Pallas	Shroftid ffollowinge wages or dieats of the Officers and Tayllors payntars workinge uppon the Townes and Charretts for the Goodeſſes and div^rs^. deviſſes as the Hevens and Clowds and foure maſks too of them not occupied nor ſene wth. thare hole furniture wch. be verie fayr and Riche off old ſtuff butt new garniſhed wth. frenge and taſſells to ſeme new and div^rs^. ſhowes made by the Gentillmen of Greys Iine mcers [mercers] for farſnett and other ſtuff Silkwemen for frenge and taſſelles Lynen Drappers for canvas ppertie makers and other ꝑvicions and neceſſaries - - -	115 — 7
	Eyrringe [airing] Repayringe in Aprill followinge and Tranſlatinge of div^rs^. garments wth. thare provicions and neceſſaries for the ſame - - - -	10 8 3
		444 10 11

It is to be remembered, that the marginal notes are in Lord Burleigh's hand; and that the *Roman* numerals of the original document are converted into *Arabick* numerals, for convenience.

Weſtminſter; by the children of the chapel; and by the children of Windſor. The truth is, that our drama firſt took its riſe in the ſchools; which were ſettled in the monaſteries, or were eſtabliſhed in the Univerſities (*v*). The ſock, and the buſkin, paſſed, by an eaſy tranſition, from the ſchoolboys to the ſinging boys. As early as the year 1430, the choriſters, or eleemoſinary boys of Maxtoke-priory, near Coventry, acted a play every year (*w*). Henry the VIIth was entertained, in a ſimilar manner, by the choriſters of Wincheſter, in 1487 (*x*). Henry the VIIIth, Edward the (*y*) VIth, and Mary, were, in their turns, dramatically amuſed by ſinging boys. As early as the year 1378, the choriſters of St. Paul's cathedral, in London, petitioned Richard the IId, that he would prohibit ignorant perſons from acting *The hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, which the clergy of that church had prepared, at a great expence, for public repreſentation, during the enſuing Chriſtmas. From acting *myſteries*, theſe choriſters paſſed, by a gradual progreſs, to the performance of more regular dramas (*z*). They became ſo famous for the ſuperiority of their ſcenic ſkill, that they were

(*v*) Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 388-9.
(*w*) Ib. 390. (*x*) Ib. vol. i. p. 206.
(*y*) Ib. vol. ii. p. 391. (*z*) Id.

ſent

ſent for, whenever great entertainments were given in the country; in order to contribute, by their mimick art, diverſion to *the Briton reveller* (*a*).

The children of St. Paul's were the favourite actors, at the acceſſion of Elizabeth: And, in conſequence of their celebrity, and ſucceſs, they at length found imitators, and rivals, in the children of Weſtminſter, in the children of the (*b*) Chapel, and in the children of Windſor; who all continued to entertain Elizabeth, while ſhe lived; though much ſeldomer towards the concluſion of her reign, as the eſtabliſhed actors, neceſſarily, gained a ſuperiority over them in the art, and its accommodations (*c*).

Whether

(*a*) Warton's Hiſt. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 391.

(*b*) In June 1552, Richard Bower, the maſter of the King's childen of the chapel, was authoriſed to take up, as many children, as he might think fit, to ſerve there from time to time. [Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 539.] Richard Bower, who had been maſter of the children of the chapel, under Henry the viiith, and Edward the vith, was continued in that office, on the 30 Apr. 1559, with a ſalary of £.40. a year. [Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 517.] Commiſſions iſſued in the 4th, 9th, and 39th of Elizabeth "to take up well ſing-"ing boys, for furniſhing the Queen's chapel." [Lyſon's Environs, vol. i. p. 92.]

(*c*) I here ſubjoin a chronological liſt of the ſeveral pay-

Whether thoſe choriſters were always *children* may admit of ſome doubt. The word *child* had

ments to *thoſe* CHILDREN, as the rewards of their performances, which were gleaned from the council-regiſters:—

10th Jañry 156$\frac{2}{3}$ —Paid Sebaſtian Weſtcott, maſter of the children of Pauls £6 13 4

18th Jañry 156$\frac{4}{5}$ —Paid Sebaſtian Weſtcott, maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play on Chriſtmas laſt 6 13 4

12th Jañry 156$\frac{6}{7}$ —Paid Sebaſtian Weſtcott, maſter of the children of Pauls, for two plays on Chriſtmas laſt - - - 13 6 8

13th Febry 156$\frac{6}{7}$ —Paid John Taylor, maſter of the children of Weſtminſter, for a play on Shrovetide laſt - 6 13 4

12th Jañry 157$\frac{2}{3}$ —Paid Richard Ferraunt, maſter of the children of Windſor, for a play on St. John's day laſt - - - 6 13 4

Do. —Paid Sebaſtian Weſtcott, maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play on New year's day laſt - - - 6 13 4

Do. —Paid John Honnys, Gent. maſter of the children of the chapel, for a play on Twelfth day laſt - - - 6 13 4

29th Febry 157$\frac{3}{4}$ —Paid the maſter of the children of Weſtminſter, for a play on Shrove-tueſday laſt - 6 13 4

10th Jañry 157$\frac{3}{4}$ —Paid Sebaſtian Weſtcott, for a play at Chriſtmas laſt - 6 13 4

10th

had formerly a very different ſignification, than it has lately had; as we may learn from our *old Engliſh*

10th Jañry 157$\frac{3}{4}$ —Paid Richard Ferraunt, for a play at Chriſtmas laſt - £. 6 13 4

29th Decr. 1575 —Paid the maſter of the children of Windſor, for a play on St. John's day laſt - 10 — —

7th Jañry 157$\frac{5}{6}$ —Paid Sebaſtian [Weſtcott] maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play at Twelfth day laſt - - 10 — —

20th Dº 157$\frac{6}{7}$ —Paid the children of the chapel, for a play in Chriſtmas holydays laſt - - 6 13 4

Dº —Paid the children of Pauls for a play in Chriſtmas holydays laſt - - - 6 13 4

And by way of reward £.2 10. to each of them 5 — —

20th Febry 157$\frac{6}{7}$—Paid the maſter of the children of Pauls - - - 6 13 4

And by way of reward 5 marks.

16th Jañry 157$\frac{8}{9}$ —Paid the children of Pauls }
—Paid the children of the chapel }
Warrants iſſued, but no ſums mentioned.

12th March 157$\frac{8}{9}$—Paid Richard Ferraunt, maſter of the children of Windſor, for a play on Shrove Monday laſt - - - 6 13 4

And by way of reward - - 3 6 8

25th Jañry 157$\frac{8}{9}$—Paid the maſter and children of the chapel - - 6 13 4

And

Engliſh ballads; in the ſame manner, as the word *bairn*, in the Scottiſh poets, and in Shakſpeare's

And by way of reward - £. 3 6 8

25th Jañry 157⅞—Paid the maſter and children of Pauls - - - - 10 — —

30th Jañry 158⅞ —Paid the maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play on Twelfth day - - - 10 — —

13th Febry 1580-1—Paid the maſter of the children of the chapel, for a play on Shrove Sunday laſt - - 6 13 4

And by way of reward - 3 6 8

1ſt April 1582—Paid the maſter of the children of the chapel, for two plays on the laſt of December and Shrove-tueſday - 20 marks.

And by way of reward - 20 nobles.

24th April 1582 —Paid the children of Pauls, for a play on St. Stephen's day laſt - - - £10 — —

9th April 1588 —Paid Thomas Giles, maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play on Shrove Sunday - 10 — —

23d March 158⅞—Paid Thomas Giles, maſter of the children of Pauls, for ſundry plays in the Chriſtmas holydays - - - 30 — —

10th March 158⅞—Paid the maſter of the children of Pauls for three plays on Sunday after Chriſtmas day, Newyears day, and Twelfth day - - - 20 — —

And by way of reward - 10 — —

24th

ſpeare's dramas, denotes a *youth*, as well as a child; and as the word child ſignified a *youth*, and a youth of a higher rank; ſo *child* and *knight*, and *bairn* and *knight*, came to be ſynonimous; as we may perceive in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry:* Hence, the *children* of the chapel, and the *youths* of the chapel, were, really, the ſame, though, nominally, different. From thoſe ſeminaries, ſome of the ableſt actors were tranſplanted into the regular companies (*d*). Contributing ſo much to feſtivity, by their acting, they, in ſome meaſure, communicated their denomination of *children* to the profeſſed actors, by the name of *the children of the* REVELS. By the celebrity of

24th June 1601 —Paid Edward Piers, maſter of the children of Pauls, for a play on Newyears day laſt 20 marks.
And by way of reward - - 5 marks.

(*d*) The theatrical children were ſometimes *kidnapped*, by rival maſters, no doubt. One of the boys of Sebaſtian Weſtcott was, in this manner, carried away from him: And, on the 3d of December, 1575, the privy council wrote "A letter "to the Maſter of the Rolls, and Mr. Doctor Wilſon; that "whereas one of Sebaſtion's boys, being one of his principall "players, is lately ſtolen, and conveyed, from him; they be "required to examine ſuch perſons as Sebaſtian holdeth ſuſ-"pected, and to proceed with ſuch as be found faulty ac-"cording to law and the order of this realm."

their

their performances, they even *envenomed* the eſtabliſhed comedians with *rival-hating* envy, as we may learn from Shakſpeare. During Elizabeth's reign, there had been four companies of children, who, under diſtinct maſters, gave life to the revelry of that extended period. They continued, after the acceſſion of King James, to exhilarate the *faint ſlumbers* of his peaceful reign. And, they were deemed ſo important, that there ſometimes were granted royal patents to particular perſons; empowering them, "to bring up companies "of children, and youths, in the quality of "playing interludes, and ſtage plays (*e*)."

Thus

(*e*) The company, conſiſting of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Baſſe, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robins, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and had been the ſervants of Queen Anne, ſeem to have appropriated to themſelves the name of *The Company of the Revells*. They obtained, in July 1622, a patent, under the privy ſeal; authorizing them "to bring up children in the "qualitie and exerciſe, of playing comedies and ſtage plays, "to be called by the name of *The Children of the Revels*. [Steeven's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 171.] Similar patents had been conferred in former years. Such a patent was granted under the great ſeal, on the 17th of July 1615, to John Daniel, gentleman, one of the prince's ſervants. This authority was *oppugned* and *reſiſted*, it ſeems; and thereupon was iſſued, in April 1618 the following *Letter of Aſſiſtance*, which

Thus have I tried to ſhed a few rays of brighter light on this curious ſubject, which had

which was tranſcribed from a copy in the paper-office; and caſts ſome new lights on the hiſtory of the ſtage:—

" After our hearty commendations: Whereas it pleaſed " his Majeſty by his letters patents, under the great ſeal of " England, bearing date the 17th day of July, in the 13th " year of his Highneſs's reign [1615] to grant unto John " Daniel, gent: (the prince his ſervant) authority to bring " up a company of children and youths in the quality of play- " ing interludes and ſtage plays. And wee are informed " that notwithſtanding his Majeſty's pleaſure therein that " there are ſome who oppugne and reſiſt the ſaid authority in " contempt of his Majeſty's letters patents. In conſideration " whereof and for the further effecting and performance of " his Majeſty's pleaſure therein; wee have thought good to " grant unto the ſaid John Daniel theſe our Letters of Aſ- " ſiſtance, thereby requiring you, and in his Majeſty's name " ſtraightly charging and commanding you and every of " you, not only quietly to permit and ſuffer Martin Slatier, " John Edmonds, and Nathaniel Clay (her Majeſties ſer- " vants) with their aſſociates, the bearers hereof, to play as " aforeſaid *(as her Majeſty's ſervants of her royal chamber at Briſtol)* in all playhouſes, town-halls, ſchool-houſes, and " o her places, convenient for that purpoſe, in all cities, " univerſities, towns, and boroughs, within his Majeſty's " realms and dominions, freely, and peaceably, without any " of your letts, troubles, or moleſtations: But as occaſion " ſhall be offered (they or any of them having to ſhow his " letters patents and a letter of aſſiſtance from the ſaid John " Daniel) to be likewiſe aiding and aſſiſting unto them, they " behaving themſelves civilly and orderly, like good and " honeſt ſubjects, and doing nothing therein contrary to the " tenor

had been thrown too much into ſhade, by the pencils of our ſcenic painters. Yet, have I perhaps raiſed, rather than gratified curioſity. And thoſe, who find a pleaſure, in reviewing the amuſements of former times, may wiſh for more gratification, from additional notices. It was with deſign to gratify this reaſonable deſire, that I compiled a CHRONOLOGICAL LIST of ſuch plays, as were acted by thoſe companies of *theatrical children*, which is ſubjoined in the note (*f*). The *chronology* was adjuſted

" tenor of his Majeſty's ſaid letters patents, nor ſtaying to " play in any one place above fourteen days together, and " the times of divine ſervice on the ſabbath days only ex- " cepted. Whereof fail you not at your perils :- Given at " the court at Whitehall this [April 1618.]"

To all mayors, ſheriffs, bailiffs, conſtables, and other his Majeſty's officers and liege ſubjects to whom it may belong, or in any wiſe appertain.

(*f*) A *chronological liſt* of the various plays, which were preſented by *the theatrical children* :—

1571—Edward's *Damon and Pethias*; a comedy, before the Queen, by the children of her chapel.

1584—Peel's *Arraynment of Paris*; before the Queen, by the children of the chapel.

1584—Lyly's *Alexander Campaſpe* and *Diogenes*; before the Queen, on Twelfth day at night, by her Majeſty's children, and the children of Paul's.

1591—Lyly's *Endimion, and the Man in the Moon*; before the

juſted from the ſeveral dates of the ſucceſſive publications; whence may be conjectured, rather

the Queen, at Greenwich, on Candlemas day, at night, by the children of Paul's.

1591—Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* [Phaon]; before the Queen, on Shrove Tueſday, by her Majeſty's children, and the boys of Paul's.

1592—Lyly's *Gallathea*; before the Queen, at Greenwich, on Newyear's day at night, by the children of Paul's.

1594—Lyly's *Mother Bombie*, ſundry times, by the children of Paul's.

1594—Naſh's *Dido Queen of Carthage*; by the children of her Majeſty's chapel.

1600—Lyly's *The Maids Metamorphoſis*, by the children of Paul's.

1600—Ben Johnſon's *Cynthia's Revels*, or The Fountain of Self Love, by the children of the Queen's chapel.

1600—*The Wiſdom of Dr. Dodypoll*; by the children of Powle's.

1601—Lyly's *Love's Metamorphoſis*; firſt played by the children of Paul's; now by the children of the chapel.

1601—Ben Johnſon's *Poetaſter*; by the children of the Queen's chapel.

1601—*Jack Drum's Entertainment*, or *Paſquil and Katherine*, by the children of Powle's.

1602—Dekker's *Satiromaſtix*; or *The Untruſſing of the Humourous Poet*; publickly acted by the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants; and privately, by the children of Paul's.

1602—Marſton's *Antonio and Mellida*; by the children of Paul's.

1602—Marſton's *Antonio's Revenge*, by the children of Paul's.

1605—

rather than ascertained, when each play was acted. Amid other novelties, it is curious to

1605—Chapman's *Eastward Hoe*; at Blackfriers, by the children of her Majesty's Revels.

1605—Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*, at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.

1606—Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*, by the children of Blackfryers.

1606—Marston's *Parasitaster*, or *The Fawne*, at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.

1606—Day's *Isle of Gulls*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.

1606—*Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight*; by the children of the chapel.

1607—*The Puritan*, or *The Widow of Watling Street*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Dekker's *Westward Hoe*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Dekker's *Northward Hoe*; by the children of Paul s.

1607—Middleton's *Phœnix*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater*; by the children of Paul's.

1607—*Cupid's Whirligig*; by the children of the Revels.

1608—Middleton's *Family of Love*; by the children of his Majesty's Revels.

1608—Middleton's *Mad World my Masters*; by the children of Paul's.

1608—Day's *Humour out of Breath*; by the children of the King's Revels.

1608—Day's *Law Tricks*, or *Who would have Thought*; by the children of the Revels.

1608—

to remark, that none of the many plays, which were preſented by the children of Paul's, and the children of the Chapel, before the year 1571, have been preſerved, at leaſt been publiſhed; and none of the plays are ſaid to have been acted by *the children of the revels*, ſubſequent to the year 1633. An attention to this date would carry the inquirer into *the gloom* of *puritaniſm:* And, from authority, he would be told:

"You cannot *revel* into *dukedoms* there."

1608—Machin's *Dumbe Knight*; by the children of the Revels.

1609—Armin's *Hiſtory of the Two Maids of More-clacke* [Mortlake]; by the children of the King's Revels.

1610—Maſon's *Turk*; by the children of the Revels.

1610—Sharpham's *Fleire*; at Blackfryers, by the children of the Revels.

1611—Barry's *Ram Alley*, or *Merrie Tricks*; by the children of the King's Revels.

1612—Field's *Woman is a Weathercock*; before the King, at Whitehall, and at Whitefryers, by the children of her Majeſty's Revels.

1615—Beaumont's *Cupid's Revenge*; by the children of the Revels.

1620—May's *Heire*, by the *company* of the Revels.

1622—Markham's and Sampſon's *True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*; acted at the Red Bull, by the *company* of the Revels.

1633—Rowley's *Match at Midnight*; by the children of the Revels.

Thus much, then, for the children of St. Paul's, of Weſtminſter, of Windſor, of the Chapel, and of the *Children of the Revels*. As early as the reign of Henry the VIIth, French players appeared in London, though not as an eſtabliſhed company; for we ſee nothing of them, in the ſubſequent reigns. The Italian language became as much the object of cultivation, during Elizabeth's reign, as the French had ever been, or is at preſent. And, Italians ſhowed their tricks, daily, in our ſtreets, and exhibited their dramas, often, in our halls (*g*): In January 157$\frac{7}{8}$ Drouſiano, an Italian *commediante*, and his company, were authoriſed by the privy council, to play within the juriſdiction of the city of London. It does not, however, appear, that there was

(*g*) A letter was written, on the 14th of July 1573, by the privy council to the Lord Mayor of London, "to permit "certain Italian *players*, to make ſhow of an inſtrument of "*ſtrange motions* within the city." This order was repeated, on the 19th of the ſame month; the privy council "mervelling that he did it not at their firſt requeſt."—The *inſtrument of ſtrange motions* was probably a theatrical *automaton*.—On the 13th of January 157$\frac{7}{8}$, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor, "to give order, that one "Drouſiano, an Italian, a *commedeante*, and his company, "may play within the city and liberties of the ſame, between "that day, and the firſt week in Lent."

then

then any ſettled company of *foreign* players; though Lord Strange's *tumblers* may have had ſtrangers among them.

As ſoon as the acting of plays became a profeſſion, jealouſy of abuſe made it an object of regulation. Accordingly, in 1574, the puritanic zeal, or the prudential caution of the Lord Mayor, Hawes, procured various bye-laws of the common-council, to regulate the repreſentation of plays, within the city of London (*b*). Yet, this zeal was not wholly approved of at Whitehall. And the privy council wrote the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of March, 157$\frac{4}{5}$, "to advertize their Lordſhips "what cauſes he hath to reſtrain playes; to "the intent, their Lordſhips may the bet-"ter anſwer ſuch as deſire liberty for the "ſame (*i*)."

The year 1574 is probably the epoch of the firſt eſtabliſhment of a regular company of players. It was on the 10th of May 1574, that the influence of the Earl of Leiceſter obtained for his ſervants, James Burbadge, John Parkyn, John Lanham, William Johnſon, and Robert Wilſon, a licenſe, under the privy ſeal,

(*b*) Strype's Stow, vol. i. p. 299-300.

(*i*) The council-regiſt. of that date.

" to exercise the faculty of playing, through-
" out the realm of England (*k*)." Leicester was not a man, who would allow the Queen's grant to be impugned, or his own servants to be opposed. And, his influence procured, probably, directions from the privy council to the Lord Mayor, on the 22d of July 1574 " to admit the comedy players within the " city of London; and to be otherwise fa-
" vourably used (*l*)."

But, the zeal of the Lord Mayor neither darkened the gaiety of the city, nor obstructed the operations of the players, so much as did the *plague*; which, in that age, frequently afflicted the nation, with its destructive ravages. During several years of Elizabeth's reign, the

(*k*) A copy of the patent is in Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 156, who found it among the unpublished papers of Rymer in the British Museum. The next license, for acting generally, was granted by *an open warrant*, on the 29th of April 1593, " to the plaiers, servants to the Earl of Suffex; " authorizing them to exercise their quality of playing co-
" medies and tragedies, in any county, city, town or cor-
" poration, not being within seven miles of London, where " the infection is not, and in places convenient, and times " fit." [Council-reg^r of that date.]

(*l*) On the same day, a passport was granted " to the " players to go to London [from the court] and to be well " used on their voyage" [journey.]

privy

privy council often gave directions for reſtraining players, within the city, and its vicinage; on account of the frequent peſtilence, which was ſuppoſed to be widely propagated, by the numerous concourſe of people, at theatrical repreſentations. It is to this cauſe, that we ought to attribute the many orders, which were iſſued under the prudent government of Elizabeth, with regard to players; and which are contradictory in appearance, more than in reality: When the city was ſickly, the playhouſes were ſhut; when the city was healthy, they were opened; though dramatic entertainments were not always allowed in the dog-days.

Among thoſe expedient orders, the privy council required the Lord Mayor, on the 24th of December 1578, "to ſuffer the children "of her Majeſty's chapel, the ſervants of the "Lord Chamberlain, of the Earl of Warwick, "of the Earl of Leiceſter, of the Earl of "Eſſex, and the children of Paul's, and no "companies elſe, to exerciſe plays within "the city; whom their Lordſhips have "only allowed thereunto, by reaſon that "*the companies aforenamed* are appointed "to play this Chriſtmas before her Majeſty."

Yet, it is (*m*) ſaid, that there were then, within the city *eight* ordinary places, for playing publickly, to the great impoveriſhment of the people.

No ſooner was the drama protected by the wiſe miniſters of Elizabeth, who diſtinguiſhed, nicely, between the uſe, and the abuſe, of every inſtitution, than plays, and players, were perſecuted by the Puritans, whoſe enmity may be traced up to the publication of *the Laws of Geneva*, which prohibited ſtage plays, as ſinful (*n*). In 1574, *A form of Chriſtian Policy* was *drawn out of the French*, and dedicated to Lord Burleigh, by Geoffry Fenton (*o*). Goſſom printed his School of Abuſe, in 1578, which was dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney, by whom

(*m*) Stockwood's Sermon, 1578, quoted in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 39.

(*n*) A tranſlation of the Geneva laws was publiſhed at London, in 1562: "Playes and games are forbidden," ſays the code.

(*o*) Of this book, the whole of chapter the 7th was written to prove "that mynſtrels are unworthy of the fellowſhip of "townſmen; that puppet players are equally unworthy; "that players were caſt out of the church; that all diſſolute "playes ought to be forbidden:" Yet, he admits, "*comical* "and *tragical* ſhowes of ſchollers, in moral doctrines, to re-"proove vice, and extol virtue, to be very profitable."

it was diſdainfully rejected. In 1579, John Northbrooke publiſhed A Treatiſe, wherein *dicing*, *dauncing*, *vaine plaies*, or *enterludes*, with other *idle paſtimes were reprooved* (*p*). Stubbes exhibited his *Anatomie of Abuſes*, in 1583; ſhowing the *wickedneſs* of *ſtage playes*, and *enterludes*. The churches continually reſounded with declamations againſt the *ſtage*. And, in 1592, the *vanity*, and *unlawfulneſs*, of *plaies*, and *enterludes*, were maintained, in the univerſity of Cambridge, by Doctor Rainolds, againſt Doctor Gager, the celebrated dramatiſt. This academical controverſy was ſoon followed by a kind of theatrical *reſcript* in the form of a letter to the vice chancellor of (*q*) Cambridge, from the privy council, dated at

(*p*) Mr. Malone ſays this treatiſe was publiſhed *about* the year 1579; *about* the year 1580. I have two copies of Northbrooke's treatiſe, which prove, that it was publiſhed in 1579, as Herb. Typ. An. vol. ii. p. 991-1117, 1148, ſhow, that it was licenſed, in 1578, and in 1577:—Prynne aſſerts, that it was printed by authority, of which there ſeems to be no evidence. The notices of Northbrooke's treatiſe muſt be, therefore, referred to a period, antecedent to the year 1577.

(*q*) A letter of the ſame tenor, and date, was ſent to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford. [Council-regr. 29th July 1593.] The following is a copy of the letter from the privy council to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge:—

at Oatlands, on the 29th of July 1593; the ſame year, in which appeared the *firſt heir* of Shakſpeare's *invention*.

From

" Whereas the two univerſities of Cambridge, and Oxford are the nurſeries to bring up youth in the knowledge and fear of God, and in all manner of good learning and virtuous education, whereby after they may ſerve their prince and country in divers callings; for which reſpect eſpecial care is to be had of thoſe two univerſities, that all means may be uſed to further the bringing up of the youth that are beſtowed there in all good learning, civil education, and honeſt means, whereby the ſtate and common wealth may receive hereafter great good. And like cauſes to be uſed, that all ſuch things as may illure and intice them to lewdneſs, folly and vicious manners, whereunto, the corruption of man's nature is more inclined, may in no wiſe be uſed or practiſed in thoſe places, that are ſchools of learning and good nurture. We therefore as councellors of ſtate to her Majeſty, amongſt other things concerning the good government of this realm, cannot but have a more eſpecial regard of theſe principal places, being the fountains from whence learning and education doth flow, and ſo is derived into all other parts of the realm. And for that cauſe underſtanding, that common players do ordinarily reſort to the univerſity of Cambridge, there to recite interludes and plays, ſome of them being full of lewd example and moſt of vanity, beſides the gathering together of multitudes of people, whereby is great occaſion alſo of divers other inconveniences. Wee have thought good to require you the Vice Chancellor with the aſſiſtance of the heads of the colleges, to take ſpecial order that hereafter there may no plays or

" interludes

From this outcry againſt the drama, loud as it was, and long as it continued, ſome good effects

" interludes of common players be uſed or ſet forth either in " the univerſity, or in any place within the compaſs of five " miles, and eſpecially in the town of Cheſterton being a " village on the water ſide, nor any ſhows of unlawful games, " that are forbidden by the ſtatutes of this realm. And for " the better execution hereof, you ſhall communicate theſe " our letters to the mayor or mayors of the town of Cam- " bridge for the time being, with the reſt of the juſtices of " the peace, within five miles of the ſaid town, and that no " other juſtices may give licenſe to the contrary, who ſhall " likewiſe by virtue hereof be required as well as you to " ſee the tenor of theſe our letters, put in due execution, " every one of you in your ſeveral juriſdictions. Moreover " becauſe we are informed, that there are divers inmates re- " ceived into ſundry houſes in the town, whereby the town " doth grow over burthened with people, being a thing " dangerous in this time of infection, and that cauſeth the " prices of victuals and all other things to be raiſed, and " doth breed divers other inconveniences: You ſhall like- " wiſe by virtue hereof if your own authority be not ſuf- " ficient by your charter, confer with the mayor of the ſaid " town of Cambridge of the means, and to put the ſame in " execution how this diſorder may be redreſſed, and to for- " ſee hereafter that the ſame be in no ways ſuffered. Laſtly, " where [as] the fair of Stourbridge is at hand, which is kept " a mile out of the town, in reſpect of the great infection " and viſitation of the ſickneſs in London at this preſent; " you the vice chancellor ſhall give order as directed from " us, to the maſtres and heads of the colleges there, that " during the time of the fair, the gates of the colleges may " be

effects resulted; as there did from a similar outcry, which was raised by Collier against the stage, in more modern times. As early as 1578, the privy council endeavoured, though not with complete success, to prevent the acting of plays, during *Lent* (*r*). This solicitude, for the interests of religion, was soon after extended to the preventing of stage plays *on Sundays* (*s*). Yet, this care did not extend to

" be kept shut, and that no scholars be permitted to repair " thither."

(*r*) On the 13th of March $157\frac{8}{9}$, the privy council wrote to the Lord Mayor to suffer no plays to be acted, within his jurisdiction, during *Lent, until it be after Easter*. A similar letter was written, on the 11th of March 1600-1; requiring the Lord Mayor, " not to fail in suppressing plays, within " the city, and the liberties thereof, especially *at Pauls*, and " in *the Blackfriers*, during this time of *Lent*."

(*s*) The privy council wrote to the justices of Surrey, on the 29th of October 1587, " that whereas the inhabit- " ants of Southwark had complained unto their Lordships, " that the order set down by their Lordships for the restrain- " ing of plaies and interludes, within the county *on the Sab-* " *bath daies* is not observed; and especiallie within the *Li-* " *bertie* of the *Clinke*, and within the *parish of St. Saviours*, " in *Southwark*; they are required to take such strict order, " for the staying of the said disorder, as is alreadie taken by " the Lord Mayor, within the libertie of the cittie; so as " the same be not hereafter suffered, at the times forbidden, " in any place in that county." A similar letter was written,

to the court, where plays were preſented, for Queen Elizabeth's recreation, during her whole reign, on Sundays. This reſtriction againſt acting plays, on Sundays, was continued, by ſucceſſive orders of the privy council, till it was at length enacted by parliament, "that no plays ſhould be preſented on the "Lord's-day (*t*)."

The players were alſo obſtructed in the exerciſe of their profeſſion by orders, which originated from a leſs pious ſource, and deprived of their profits, by injunctions, which proceeded from a leſs diſintereſted motive. The royal *bearward* found, that the people, who are entitled to praiſe for ſuch a preference, took more delight in ſtage-playing, than in *bear-baiting*; their *ſecond ſight* foreſeeing, no doubt, that Shakſpeare was at hand, to juſtify their choice: Accordingly, in July 1591, an order was iſſued by the privy (*u*) council that

ten, on the ſame day, to the juſtices of Middleſex: Yet, Mr. Malone is of opinion, that the acting of plays on Sundays was not reſtrained till the reign of King James.

(*t*) By 1 Ch. 1. ch. i.

(*u*) The privy council, on the 25th of July 1591, wrote from Greenwich, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the juſtices of Middleſex, and Surrey:—"Whereas heretofore "there

that there ſhould be no plays, publickly, ſhewed on *Thurſdays*; becauſe, on *Thurſdays*, *bear-baiting*, and ſuch like paſtimes, had been *uſually* practiſed. In this manner, were the miniſters of Elizabeth, at times, gravely, and wiſely, occupied.

By thoſe various cauſes, were the players, who had no other profeſſion, deprived of their livelihood; by the recurrence of peſtilence, by the intervention of *Lent*, by the return of *Sunday*, and by the *competition* of *bear wards*. On the 3d of December 1581, the players ſtated their caſe to the privy council; repreſented their *poor eſtates*, as having no other means to ſuſtain their wives, and children, but their ex-

" there hath been order taken to reſtrain the playing of in-
" terludes and plays on the Sabbath-day, notwithſtanding
" the which, (as wee are informed) the ſame is neglected
" to the prophanation of this day; and all other days of the
" week in divers places the players do uſe to recite their
" plays to the *great hurt and deſtruction of the game of bear-*
" *baiting*, and like *paſtimes*, which *are maintained for her*
" *Majeſty's pleaſure, if occaſion require:* Theſe ſhall be
" therefore to require you not only to take order hereafter,
" that there may no plays, interludes, or comedies be uſed or
" publickly made and ſhewed either on the Sundays, or on
" the Thurſdays, becauſe on the *Thurſdays*, theſe *other games*
" *uſually have been always accuſtomed* and *practiſed*. Where-
" of ſee you fail not hereafter to ſee this our order duly ob-
" ſerved, for the avoiding inconveniences aforeſaid."

erciſe

ercise of playing; showed, that the *sickness* within the city *were well slacked*; and prayed that their Lordships would grant them license to use their playing as heretofore: The privy-council, thereupon, for those considerations, and recollecting also, "that they were to pre-"sent certain plays before the Queen's Ma-"jesty, for her solace, in the ensuing Christ-"mas," granted their petition; and ordered the Lord Mayor to permit them to exercise their trade of playing, as usual. On the 22d of April 1582, this order was extended for a further time, and enforced by weightier considerations; *for honest recreation sake*, and in respect, that *her Majesty sometimes taketh delight in these pastimes* (*v*). Yet, the privy-council

(*v*) The following is the proceeding of the privy-council from their register of the 3d of December 1581:—"Whereas *certain Companies of Players heretofore using* "*their common exercise of playing within and about the city* "*of London*, have of late in respect of the general infection "within the city been restrained by their Lordships com-"mandment from playing: the said players this day exhi-"bited a petition unto their Lordships, humbly desiring "that as well in respect of their poor estates having no other "means to sustain them, their wives and children, but their "exercise of playing, and were *only brought up from their* "*youth in the practice and profession of musick and playing*: "as for that the sickness within the city were well slacked,

"so

council did not, in their laudable zeal for *honeſt recreation*, depart, in the leaſt, from accuſtomed prudence; requiring, as eſſential conditions of removing thoſe reſtrictions, that

" ſo that no danger of infection could follow by the aſſem-
" blies of people at their plays: It would pleaſe their Lord-
" ſhips therefore to grant them licenſe to uſe their ſaid ex-
" erciſe of playing, as heretofore they had done. Their
" Lordſhips thereupon for the conſiderations aforeſaid, as
" alſo for that they are to preſent certain plays before the
" Queen's Majeſty for her ſolace in the Chriſtmas-time now
" following, were contented to yield unto their ſaid humble
" petition; and ordered that the Lord Mayor of the city of
" London ſhould ſuffer and permit them to uſe and exerciſe
" their trade of playing in and about the city as they have
" heretofore [been] accuſtomed upon the week-days only,
" being holidays or other days ſo as they do forbear wholly
" to play on the Sabbath-day either in the forenoon or after-
" noon, which to do they are by this their Lordſhips order
" expreſsly denied and forbidden."———On the 25th of April 1582, the privy-council wrote the Lord Mayor of London the following letter:—" That whereas heretofore
" for ſundry good cauſes and conſiderations their Lordſhips
" have oftentimes given order for the reſtraining of plays
" in and about the city of London, and nevertheleſs of late,
" *for honeſt recreation ſake in reſpect that her Majeſty ſome-*
" *times taketh delight in theſe paſtimes* their Lordſhips *think*
" *it not unfit* having regard to the ſeaſon of the year and the
" clearneſs of the city from infection to allow of certain
" companies of players to exerciſe their playing in London,
" partly to the end they might thereby attain to the more
" perfection and dexterity in that profeſſion the rather to
" content

that the *comedies* and *interludes be looked into* for matter, which might breed corruption of manners; and that fit perſons might be appointed, for allowing ſuch plays only, as ſhould yield no example of evil. We ſhall find, in our progreſs, that regular commiſſioners were appointed in 1589, for reviewing

" content her Majeſty, whereupon their Lordſhips per-
" mitted them to uſe their playing until they ſhould ſee to
" the contrary and foreſeing that the ſame might be done
" without impeachment of the ſervice of God, reſtrained
" them from playing on the Sabbath-day: And for as much
" as their Lordſhips ſuppoſe that their honeſt exerciſe of
" playing to be uſed on the holydays after evening-prayer
" as long as the ſeaſon of the year may permit and may be
" without danger of the infection will not be offenſive
" *ſo that if care be had that their comedies and interludes be*
" *looked into, and that thoſe which do contain matter that may*
" *breed corruption of manners and converſation among the*
" *people be forbidden.* Whereunto their Lordſhips wiſh there
" be appointed ſome fit perſons who may conſider and allow
" of ſuch plays only as be fit to yield honeſt recreation and
" no example of evil. Their Lordſhips pray his Lordſhip
" to revoke his late inhibition againſt their playing on the
" holydays, but that he do ſuffer them as well within the
" city as without to uſe their exerciſe of playing on the ſaid
" holydays after evening prayer only, forbearing the Sab-
" bath-day according to their Lordſhips ſaid order, and when
" he ſhall find that the continuance of the ſame their exer-
" ciſe, by the increaſe of the ſickneſs and infection, ſhall be
" dangerous to certify their Lordſhips and they will pre-
" ſently take order accordingly."

the

the labours of our dramatiſts; for allowing the fit, and rejecting *the unmannerly*; which appointment ſeems to be, only, a ſyſtematic improvement of Queen Elizabeth's eccleſiaſtical injunctions, in 1559.

Of ſuch players, and ſuch companies, that incited *honeſt merriment*, during Elizabeth's days, and were regarded as objects of conſideration, by ſome of the wiſeſt miniſters, that have ever governed England, who would not wiſh to know a little more? The children of St. Paul's appear to have formed a company, invery early times. At the acceſſion of Elizabeth, Sebaſtian Weſtcott, was the maſter of thoſe children. With his boyiſh actors, he continued to entertain that great Queen, and to be an object of favour, and reward, till the year 1586. He was ſucceeded, as maſter of the children of Paul's, by Thomas Giles, who, in the ſame manner tried to pleaſe, and was equally rewarded for his pains. Thomas Giles was ſucceeded, in 1600, by Edward Piers, as the maſter of the children of Paul's, who was to inſtruct them, in the theory of muſic, and direct them "to hold, as 'twere, the mirrour "up to nature." The eſtabliſhment of the children of her Majeſty's *honourable chapel* ſeems to have been formed on the plan of

that

that of the children of St. Paul's. Richard Bower, who had preſided over this honourable chapel under Henry the VIIIth, continued to ſolace Elizabeth, by the ſinging, and acting, of the children of the chapel, till 1572. Richard Bower was then ſucceeded, in his office, and in thoſe modes of pleaſing by, John Honnys. This maſter was followed by William Hunnis, one of the gentlemen of the chapel; who, not only endeavoured to gladden life, by the acting of his children, but to improve it, by the publication of the penitential pſalms, with appropriate muſic (*w*). The children of *Weſtminſter* had for their director, John Taylor, from the year 1565, for a long ſucceſſion of theatrical ſeaſons. And, the children of *Windſor* were, in the ſame manner, employed by Richard Ferrant, during Elizabeth's reſidence there, "to eaſe "the anguiſh of a torturing hour."

It was from thoſe nurſeries, that many a cyon was grafted into the more regular companies of players. During the infancy of the drama, the players were driven, by the

(*w*) William Hunnis republiſhed, in 1597, "Seven Sobs "of a ſorrowful Soul for Sin;" and, in the ſame year, he printed "A Handful of Honiſuckles."—We may here ſee another example how the ſame name was different ſpelt *Honnys*, and *Hunnis*.

penalties of the ſtatutes againſt vagabonds, to ſeek for ſhelter under private patronage, by entering themſelves, as ſervants, to the greater peers, and even to the middling ſort of gentlemen. At the acceſſion of Elizabeth, the Lord Robert Dudley's players became conſpicuous. When, by his influence, they were incorporated, into a regular company, in 1574, their leaders were James (x) Burbadge; John Perkyn; John Lanham; William Johnſon; and Robert Wilſon. None of theſe roſe to eminence, or contributed much to the advancement of the ſtage. When the Earl of Leiceſter died, in September 1588, they were left to look for protection from a new maſter.

In 1572, Sir Robert Lane had theatrical ſervants, at the head of whom was Laurence Dutton, who appears to have joined the Earl of Warwick's company: but Lane's ſervants ſeem not to have long continued, either to

(x) James Burbadge, who is more known, as the father of Richard Burbadge, and Cuthbert Burbadge, than for his own performances, during the infancy of the theatre, lived long in Holywell-ſtreet. He had a daughter baptized, by the name of Alice, in the pariſh of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on the 11th of March $157\frac{6}{7}$. He was buried there as appears by the regiſter, on the 2d of February $159\frac{9}{8}$. Helen Burbadge, widow, was buried in the ſame cœmetery on the 8th of May 1613; and was probably the relict of James Burbadge.

profit

profit, by pleaſing others, or to pleaſe themſelves, by profit.

In 1572, Lord Clinton entertained dramatic ſervants, who, as they did little, have left little for the hiſtorian of the ſtage to record. When the Lord Clinton died, on the 16th of January 158$\frac{4}{5}$, thoſe ſervants found ſhelter probably from ſome other peer, who like him, was ambitious of giving and receiving the pleaſures of the ſtage.

In 1575, appeared at the head of the Earl of Warwick's company, Laurence Dutton, and John Dutton, who, as they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves, cannot be much diſtinguiſhed by the hiſtorian of the theatre.

In 1575, the Lord Chamberlain had a company of acting ſervants: whether William Elderton, and Richard Mouncaſter, were then the leaders of it, is uncertain: But, Shakſpeare was, certainly, admitted into this company, which he has immortalized more by his dramas, than by his acting. In 1597, John Heminges, and Thomas (*y*) Pope, were at the head

(*y*) THOMAS POPE, who is ſaid to have played the part of a clown, died before the year 1600, adds Mr. Malone. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 198.] Yet, Pope made his will, which may be ſeen in the Prerogative-office, on the 22d of

head of the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, who were afterwards retained by King James; and long ſtood the foremoſt, for the regularity of their eſtabliſhment, and the excellency of their plays.

In 1576, the Earl of Suſſex had a theatrical company, which began to act at *The Roſe*, on the 27th of December 1593; yet, never roſe to diſtinguiſhed eminence.

In 1577, Lord Howard had dramatic ſervants, who, as they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves, have not been remembered by others.

July 1603; and which was proved on the 13th of February 160¾. He deviſed his ſhares in the *Curtain*, and the *Globe* to Thomas Bromley, *who had been theretofore baptized, in St. Andrew's, Underſhaft.* [Thomas Bromlie was baptized, ſays the regiſter, which mentions the baptiſm of no other Thomas Bromlie, on the 28th of Auguſt 1602.] He bequeathed his wearing apparel, and his arms, to Robert Gough, the player, who had, probably, been his apprentice, or ſervant, and to John Edmans. Pope bequeathed three pounds to the poor of the pariſh of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he lived, and £. 20, for his funeral expences, and a monument, in the church of that pariſh, wherein he was buried, by his own direction; yet his burial is not recorded in the pariſh-regiſter. He left £. 100 to Suſan Gaſcoigne, whom he had educated. He deviſed ſeveral houſes on *the Bankſide*, to his brother, John Pope, and left handſome legacies to his mother. He was plainly a man of property; who ſpoke familiarly, in his will, of his *plate*, and *diamond-rings*, which the players generally affected to poſſeſs.

In

In 1578, the Earl of Eſſex had a company of players, who probably finiſhed their career, when he paid the penalty of his treaſon, in 1601.

In 1579, Lord Strange had a company of tumblers, who, at times, entertained the Queen with *feats of activity*; and who began to play at *The Roſe*, under the management of Philip Henſlow, on the 19th of February, 159$\frac{4}{5}$; yet, were never otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed, than like the *ſtrutting player, whoſe conceit lay in his hamſtring*.

In 1579, the Earl of Darby entertained a company of comedians, which had at its head, in 1599, Robert Brown, to whom William Slye deviſed, in 1608, his ſhare in the Globe.

In 1585, the Queen had certainly a company of players, which is ſaid, without ſufficient authority, to have been formed, by the advice of Walſingham, in 1581. The earlieſt payment, which appears to have been made to the Queen's company, was iſſued on the 6th of March 158$\frac{5}{6}$. And, in March 1589-90, John Dutton, who was one of Lord Warwick's company, and John Lanham, who belonged to Lord Leiceſter's, appear to have been at the head of Elizabeth's company, which muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the ancient eſtabliſh-

ment of the houſehold, that received a ſalary at the Exchequer, without performing any duty at court.

In 1591, the Lord Admiral, had a company of comedians, who began to act at *The Roſe*, on the 14th of May, 1594; and who had at its head, in 1598, Robert Shaw, and Thomas Downton. Connected with them, in the management, and concerns, of the company, were Philip Henſlow, and Edward Allen; two perſons, who are better known, and will be longer remembered, in the theatrical world (*z*). At

(*z*) Philip Henſlow was illiterate himſelf; yet, as he was the protector of Drayton and Dekker, of Ben Johnſon and Maſſinger, will never be forgotten in the annals of the ſtage. He roſe from a low origin by prudent conduct. He married Agnes Woodward, widow, by whom he had no iſſue; at leaſt none, who ſurvived him. It was, by this marriage, that he became connected with Edward Allen, the celebrated comedian; who married, on the 22d October, 1592, Joan Woodward, the daughter of Henſlow's wife. About that epoch, he connected himſelf with the ſtage. He was the proprietor of *The Roſe* theatre, on the Bankſide. Here, the Lord Strange's company, the Lord Nottingham's company, and the Lord Pembroke's company, uſed to play, under his prudent management. He became a proprietor of the bear-garden. He was a veſtryman of St. Saviour's pariſh, Southwark; where he lived, and died. Henſlow had the honour, with other reſpectable pariſhioners, to be one of the patentees, to whom King James granted his charter, in favour of St. Saviour's. He made his will, on the 1ſt of

At the acceſſion of King James, the theatrical ſervants of the Lord Admiral had the honour

January $16\frac{15}{16}$; leaving his wife Agnes, his executrix, and his ſon *Mr. Edward Allen, Eſq.* one of the overſeers of it. This fact explains how the account books of Henſlow, which have illuſtrated ſo many obſcure points, in theatrical matters, came to Dulwich college. He appears from his will, which may be ſeen in the prerogative-office, to have had, at the time of making it, no connection with playhouſes, plays, or players. He deviſed the reverſion of *the Boar's-head*, and *the Bear-garden*, to his godſon Philip Henſlow, the ſon of his brother William; nor did he forget his brother John, a *waterman*. The teſtator was buried, as appears from the regiſter, in the chancel of St. Saviour's church, on the 10th of January $16\frac{15}{16}$.

Edward Allen was born in 1566; and died in 1626, after an active life of uncommon celebrity, which has furniſhed ample matter for biographers to detail. Though he was a younger man than Shakſpeare, he became diſtinguiſhed, as an actor, when that poet's dramas began to illumine the ſtage. From the epoch of his marriage, in 1592, he probably reſided on *The Bankſide*. Yet, he built *The Fortune* playhouſe, near Golden-lane, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate, in the year 1600. On the 2d of March $160\frac{7}{8}$, Allen was choſen a veſtryman of St. Saviour's; as Henſlow was already of the ſame pariſh truſt. He retired from the ſtage ſoon after the death of Henſlow in January $16\frac{15}{16}$. In 1619, he founded Dulwich college. He lived on till November 1626, in the ſame courſe of prudent reſpectability; perfecting that great act of his life; viſiting the good; and receiving the viſits of the great. In the courſe of my theatrical reſearches, I have often obſerved, that charity is the laſt act of a player.

to be taken into the ſervice of Henry-Frederick, Prince of Wales (*a*).

In 1592, the Earl of Hertford entertained a company of theatrical ſervants, who have left few materials for the theatrical remembrancer.

In 1593, the Earl of Pembroke ſheltered, in the ſame manner, under his protection, a company of perſons, who equally made a profeſſion of acting, as a mode of livelihood, and who were more deſirous of profit, than emulous of praiſe. This company began to play at *The Roſe*, on the 28th of October 1600.

The Earl of Worceſter had alſo a company of theatrical ſervants, who, at the acceſſion of King James, had the honour to be entertained by Queen Anne, in the ſame capacity.

Thus, we ſee, in this ſlight enumeration, fifteen diſtinct companies of players; who, during the protracted reign of Elizabeth, and

(*a*) We may learn from Birch's Life of Prince Henry, appx. p. 455, the names of his *players*:

Thomas Towne	Anthony Jeffes
Thomas Downton	Edward Colbrande
William Byrde	William Parre
Samuel Rowley	Richard Pryone
Edward Jubye	William Stratford
Charles Maſſye	Francis Grace
Humphrey Jeffes	John Shanke,

in

in the time of Shakſpeare, ſucceſſively gained a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, by *laſcivious pleaſing*. The demiſe of the Queen brought along with it the diſſolution of thoſe companies, as retainers to the great: And, we ſhall find, that the acceſſion of King James gave riſe to a theatric policy, of a different kind. The act of (*b*) parliament, which took away from private perſons the privilege of licenſing players, or of protecting ſtrolling actors, from the penalties of vagrancy, put an end for ever to the ſcenic ſyſtem of prior times.

This ſubject, though curious, has hitherto remained very obſcure. Materials for illuſtration were wanting, while *ſelf-ſufficiency* aſſumed the pen of hiſtory. A laudable curioſity ſtill requires additional information, which can only be furniſhed, by the communication of new notices, in a diſtinct arrangement. This, I have endeavoured to perform, by compiling *a chronological ſeries* of the ſeveral payments, which were made, from time to time, by Elizabeth's orders, to thoſe various companies, for their reſpective exhibitions: And, this *chronological ſeries*, I have ſubjoined in the marginal note; becauſe it will ſhow more clearly, than has yet been done, in which

(*b*) 1 Jas. 1. ch. vii.

company

company Elizabeth oftenest "took delight;" on what days she enjoyed this recreation; and what she gave for each day's enjoyment; whether that delight was communicated, by the acting of the players, *the feats* of the tumblers, or the grosser sports of the bear-garden (*c*).

While

(*c*) A CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES of Queen Elizabeth's payments, for plays acted before her: [From the council-reg^{rs}.]

On the 10th January 156$\frac{2}{3}$, to Lord Dudley's players, for a play, presented before her this Christmas - - - - - - - £. 6 13 4

18th Januury 156$\frac{2}{3}$, to the Earl of Warwick's players for two plays, presented before her last Christmas - - - 13 6 8

12th January 157$\frac{2}{3}$, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, servants to Sir Robert Lane Knight, for presenting a play before her on last St. Stephen's day, at night - 6 13 4

29th February 157$\frac{2}{3}$, to Lawrence Dutton, and his fellows, for presenting a play before her on Shrove Sunday, at night - - 13 6 8

7th January 157$\frac{3}{4}$, to the Earl of Leicester's players for two plays, presented before her - - - - - - - - - - 13 6 8

And by way of her Majesty's reward for their charges, &c. - - - - - - 6 13 4

10th January 157$\frac{3}{4}$, for two plays presented before her this Christmas, viz.

To Lord Clinton's men - 6 13 4

To William Elderton's - 6 13 4

On

While the actors were chiefly children; and while the theatrical companies were noblemen's

On the 22d February 157$\frac{4}{5}$, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her the 21st instant - - £. 6 13 4
And by way of her Majesty's reward - 3 6 8
18th March 157$\frac{4}{5}$, to Richard Mouncaster for two plays presented before her on Candlemas-day, and Shrove-tuesday last 20 marks.
And further for his charges - 20 marks.
29th December 1575, to the Earl of Leicester's players, for presenting a play before her, on Candlemas-day at night 10 — —
2d January 157$\frac{5}{6}$, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for presenting two plays before her, on St. Stephen's day, and New year's day last, at night - - - 20 — —
7th January 157$\frac{5}{6}$, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play presented before her, on Candlemas day, at night - 10 — —
11th March 157$\frac{5}{6}$, to Richard Mouncaster, for presenting a play before her, on Shrove Sunday last - - - - - - 10 — —
11th March 157$\frac{5}{6}$, to Lawrence Dutton and John Dutton, servants to the Earl of Warwick, for presenting a play before her, on Shrove Monday last - - 10 — —
20th January 157$\frac{6}{7}$, for two plays presented before her, in the Christmas holydays last, viz.
To the Earl of Warwick's players 6 13 4
To the Earl of Leicester's players 6 13 4

And

blemen's ſervants; the theatres, on which they preſented their interludes, and diſplayed their various

And to each of them by way of her Majeſty's reward £. 10 - - - - - - £. 20 — —
On the 3d February 157⅚, to the Earl of Suſſex's players, for a play preſented before her, on Candlemas-day laſt - - - - - 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 10 — —
20th February 157⅚, for two plays preſented before her, on Shrove Sunday, and Monday laſt; viz.
To the Earl of Warwick's players 6 13 4
To the Lord Chamberlain's players 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward, to each of them—5 marks.
9th January 157⅞, to the Earl of Leiceſter's ſervants, for a play preſented before her, in the Chriſtmas holydays - - - 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 3 6 8
9th January 157⅞, to Lord Howard's ſervants, for a play preſented before her 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 3 6 8
14th March 157⅞, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play on Candlemas-day laſt - - - - - - - - - - 10 — —
16th January 157⅞, for four plays, preſented before her Majeſty, viz.
One by the Lord Chamberlain's players.
Two by the Earl of Leiceſter's players.
One by the Earl of Warwick's players.
13th March 157⅞, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play preſented before her, on Shrove-tueſday - - - 6 13 4

And

various powers of performance, could not have been very large, or commodious. When Queen

And by way of her Majeſty's reward -	£. 3	6	8
On the 13th March 157$\frac{8}{9}$, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play preſented before her, on Shrove Sunday - - - - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - -	3	6	8
18th March 157$\frac{8}{9}$, to the Earl of Warwick's players, for a play that ſhould have been played on Candlemas-day laſt - -	6	13	4
25th January 157$\frac{8}{9}$, for four plays preſented before her, including the reward to each of them. viz.			
To the Lord Chamberlain's players	10	—	—
To the Earl of Leiceſter's players	10	—	—
To the Earl of Warwick's players	10	—	—
To the Lord Straunge's tumblers	10	—	—
23d February 157$\frac{9}{8}$, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for a play preſented before her, on Candlemas-day laſt - - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - -	3	6	8
23d February 157$\frac{9}{8}$, to the Lord Chamberlain's players, for preſenting a play before her, on Shrove-tueſday laſt - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward -	3	6	8
23d February 157$\frac{9}{8}$, to the Earl of Darby's players, for a play preſented before her, on Sunday the 14th inſtant - - -	6	13	4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - -	3	6	8
30th January 158$\frac{9}{0}$, to Ralph Bowes, maſter of her Majeſty's game of Paris garden, for bringing the ſaid game before her, on St. John's-day, at Chriſtmas laſt -	5	—	—

On

Queen Elizabeth did her beſt, to entertain the French ambaſſador, with her *tayllors, payntors, ſilkwemen,*

On the 20th January 158⅘, for three plays, preſented before her, viz.
To the Earl of Suſſex's men for a play on St. John's day at night - £. 10 — —
To the Earl of Leiceſter's ſervants for a play on St. Stephen's day - 10 — —
To the Earl of Darby's men for a play on New year's day - - 10 — —
13th February 158⅘, to the Earl of Leiceſter's ſervants, for a play preſented before her, on Shrove-tueſday - - - 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 3 6 8
13th February 158⅘, to the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, for a play preſented before her, on Candlemas day laſt - - 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 3 6 8
2d July 158⅘, to Edward Bowes, the maſter of her Majeſty's game of Paris garden, for two repreſentations of the ſaid game before her, at Whitehall, on the 23d of April, and 1ſt of May laſt 10 — —
21ſt January 158½, to Edward Bowes, maſter of her Majeſty's game of Paris garden, for preſenting the ſaid game before her, at Weſtminſter, the 4th, 6th, 7th, and laſt day of December - - - - - 20 — —
21ſt January 158½, to the Lord Strange's ſervants, for ſundry feats of activity, ſhewed before her, on Childermas day laſt - - - - - - - - - - 5 — —
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 5 — —

On

ſilkwemen, and *drappars*, " to *garniſh* the *old* " *garments* to *make them ſeme freſh againe*;" and

On the 6th March $158\frac{4}{5}$, to her Majeſty's players for a play preſented before her; on Shrove Sunday - - - - - - - - - £. 10 — —

4th March $158\frac{7}{8}$, to her Majeſty's players, for three plays preſented before her, at Chriſtmas and Shrovetide - - - 20 — —

27th February $158\frac{8}{9}$, to the Lord Admiral's players, for two interludes, preſented before her Majeſty, on the Sunday after Chriſtmas day, and Shrove Sunday laſt 20 — —

16th March $158\frac{8}{9}$, to her Majeſty's players, for two interludes preſented before her, on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday 20 — —

10th March $158\frac{9}{0}$, to the Lord Admiral's ſervants, for certain feats of activity, ſhewed before her, on the 23 December laſt - - - - - - - - - 6 13 4

Alſo for a play preſented before her, on Shrove-tueſday laſt - - - - - - 6 13 4

And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 6 13 4

15th March $158\frac{9}{0}$, to *John Dutton* and *John Lauhon* [Lanhem] two of the Queen's players, for two interludes, ſhewed before her, on St. Stephen's day, and Shrove Sunday laſt - - - - - - 20 — —

5th March $159\frac{0}{1}$, to her Majeſty's players for four interludes preſented before her, on St. Stephen's day, Sunday after New-year's day, Twelfth day, and Shrove Sunday - - - - - - - - 26 13 4

And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 13 6 8

On

and with all her houſes, and clouds, and hills, and other devices, ſhe appears neither to have made

On the 5th March 159$\frac{9}{10}$, to the ſaid players, for ſhewing an interlude before her, on New Year's day laſt - - - £. 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 3 6 8
D° to the Lord Admiral's ſervants, for two plays, preſented before her, on St. John's day, and Shrove-tueſday laſt - - 13 6 8
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - - 6 13 4
20th February 159$\frac{1}{2}$, to the Earl of Hertford's ſervants, for a play preſented before her, on Twelfth night laſt - - - - - 10 — —
D° to Lord Strange's ſervants, for ſix plays, preſented before her, at Whitehall—viz. —St. John's Day; Innocents Day; New Year's Day; Sunday after Twelfth Day; Shrove Sunday; and Shrove Tueſday - - - - - - - 40 — —
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 20 — —
D° to the Earl of Suſſex's ſervants, for a play preſented before her, on Sunday after New Year's day, the 2d of January laſt - - - - - - - - - 10 — —
27th February 159$\frac{1}{2}$, to her Majeſty's players for a play preſented by them before her, on St. Stephen's day laſt - 10 — —
7th March 159$\frac{2}{3}$, to Lord Strange's ſervants for three plays preſented before her Majeſty at Hampton-court, viz. St. John's Night; New Year's Eve; and New Year's day - - - - - - - - 20 — —
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 10 — —
11th March 159$\frac{2}{3}$, to the Earl of Pembroke's

ſervants

made any ſplendid ſhow, nor furniſhed any adequate accommodations. The children of St.

ſervants, for two plays preſented before her Majeſty at court, viz. on St. John's day, at night, and Twelfth day, at night £. 13 6 8
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 6 13 4
On the 27th November 1597, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, ſervants to the Lord Chamberlain, for ſix interludes, preſented before her Majeſty, in the Chriſtmas holydays laſt - - - - - - - 40 — —
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 20 — —
3d December 1598, to John Hemings and Thomas Pope, ſervants to the Lord Chamberlain, for four interludes, preſented before her Majeſty - - - 26 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 13 6 8
D° to *Robert Shaw*, and *Thomas Downton*, ſervants of the Earl of Nottingham, for two plays preſented before her - - 13 6 8
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 6 13 4
18th February 15$\frac{99}{600}$, to John Hemings, for three interludes, ſhewed before her, by the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, viz. on St. Stephen's day, at night, Twelfth day at night; and Shrove Sunday, at night 20 — —
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - 10 — —
D° to *John Shawe* for two plays preſented before her, by the Lord Admiral's ſervants, on St. John's day; and New Year's day - - - - - - - - 20 marks.
And by way of her Majeſty's reward - £. 6 13 4
D° to *Robert Browne*, for a play preſented

St. Paul's probably exhibited their paſtimes in the hall of their own ſchool-houſe. The regular companies had only the public inns, within the city of London, where they could pleaſe by acting, and obtain their ſubſiſtence by pleaſing.

The year 1570 has been marked, by our theatrical hiſtorians, as the probable epoch, of the firſt erection of regular playhouſes. As early as the year 1576, there certainly exiſted a building, which was appropriated to ſcenic repreſentations, and was emphatically called THE THEATRE. It was probably ſituated in the Blackfriers, without the Lord Mayor's juriſdiction (*d*). Before the year 1583, *theatres* and

before her, by the Earl of Darby's ſervants, on Shrove-tueſday, at night - 6 13 4
And by way of her Majeſty's reward 5 marks.
11th March 1600-1, to John Hemings, for three interludes, preſented by the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, at Chriſtmas laſt - - - - - - - - - - 30 — —

(*d*) The privy council on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1577, wrote to Lord Wentworth, to the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, "that for avoiding the ſickneſs from "the heat of the weather, they take immediate order, as the "Lord Mayor had done within the city, that ſuch players as "do uſe to play without the city, within that county [Mid-"dleſex]

and *curtaines* were familiarly known, and puritanically reprobated, as *Venus palaces* (*e*). Before the year 1586, there was a playhouſe at Newington-butts, in the county of Surrey, which was denominated the *Theatre* (*f*). The paſſion for theatrical repreſentations was, at that time, become exceſſive; as we may learn, indeed, from *Stubbs's Anatomy of Abuſes*, : So there were managers, who endeavoured to gratify the popular paſſion for ſcenic amuſement, by erecting theatres. But, it is not eaſy to calculate the number of playhouſes, in thoſe days, nor to aſcertain their ſites. It ſeems, however, certain, that, while the beams of

" dleſex] as *the Theatre*, and ſuch like, ſhall forbear any " more to play until Michaelmas be paſt."

(*e*) Stubbs's Anatomy of Abuſes 1583, ſign. LV. Stubbs immediately ſubjoins, " For proof whereof, but marke " the flocking and running to *theaters* and *curtens*, daylie " and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to ſee playes " and enterludes, where ſuch wanton geſtures, ſuch bawdie " ſpeaches; ſuch laughing and fleering: ſuch kiſſing and " buſſing: ſuch clipping and culling: ſuch winkinge and " glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like is uſed, as is won- " derful to behold."—We may eaſily ſuppoſe, Stubbs did not ſo much deſign to draw a picture, as to daub a caracature.

(*f*) The letters of the privy council, dated the 11th of May 1586; directing *the theatres* to be ſhut up, for preventing peſtilence.

Shakſpeare's ſun brightened the ſtage, there were ſeven principal theatres in London, and its ſuburbs: The *Globe* on the Bankſide, the *Curtain* in Shoreditch, the *Red-bull* in St. John's ſtreet, and the *Fortune* in White-croſs ſtreet; the Theatre in Blackfriers, the Cock-pit in Drury-lane, and a more private play-houſe in Whitefriers: Add to theſe, the ſeveral theatres, which had, in the mean time, ariſen in St. Saviour's pariſh from this paſſion of the people, who laudably preferred the ſentimental pleaſure of the drama, to the ſavage entertainment of bear-baiting.

But, this preference, which encreaſed the number of theatres, gave offence to thoſe, who wiſhed to influence the people, in their religious opinions, and to direct them, in their ſocial conduct. A violent outcry was, now, raiſed againſt the number of playhouſes. Complaints were repeatedly made to the (*g*) privy-

(*g*) The veſtry of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where ſo many playhouſes had been erected, thought fit to order, on the 19th July 1598, "that a petition ſhall be made to the "bodye of the councell, concerning the playhouſes in this "pariſh; wherein the enormities ſhall be ſhowed that comes "thereby to the pariſh; and that in reſpect thereof they "may be diſmiſſed and put down from playing: And that "iiij or ij of the churchwardens &c ſhall preſent the cauſe "with

privy-council, of the manifold abuſes, that had grown from the *many* houſes, which were employed in, and about London, for common ſtage plays. Theſe complaints were, at length, fully conſidered by the privy-council. The wiſe men, who compoſed the councils of Elizabeth declared, that *ſtage-playing was not evil in itſelf.* They diſtinguiſhed between the uſe, and the abuſe, of ſalutary recreations, in *a well governed ſtate.* And they determined, "as her Majeſtie ſometimes took delight in "ſeeing, and hearing the ſtage plays," to regulate the ſtage, by reducing the number of theatres, and increaſing their uſefulneſs. For theſe ends, the privy-council, who did not diſtruſt their own power, iſſued, on the 22d of June 1600, an order "for the reſtraint "of the immoderate uſe of playhouſes,"

"with a collector of the Borough-ſide, and another of the "Bankſide." As the playhouſes were not put down, the ſame veſtry tried to derive a profit from them, by tything them; and on the 28th of March 1600: "It was ordered, "that the churchwardens ſhall talk with the players for "*tithes* for their playhouſes, and for the reſt of the new "tanne houſes, near thereabouts within the liberty of *the* "*Clinke*, and for money for the poore according to the order "taken before my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Mr "of the Revels." [Theſe curious extracts were copied from the pariſh-regiſter.]

which, as it does honour to their wiſdom, and is curious in itſelf, I have ſubjoined in a marginal note (*b*).

In

(*b*) An order of the privy-council for the reſtraint of the number of playhouſes. [From the council-regiſter of the 22d of June 1600.]

" Whereas divers complaints have been heretofore made unto the Lords and others of her Majeſty's privy-council, of the manifold abuſes and diſorders that have grown and do continue by occaſion of many houſes, erected, and employed *in*, and *about*, the city of London, for common ſtage plays: And now very lately by reaſon of ſome complaints exhibited by ſundry perſons againſt the building of the like houſe in or near Golding-lane, by one Edward Allen, a ſervant of the right honble the Lord Admiral, the matter as well in generalty touching all the ſaid houſes for ſtage plays, and the uſe of playing, as in particular, concerning the ſaid houſe now in hand to be built in or near Golding-lane, hath been brought into queſtion and conſultation among their Lordſhips. Foraſmuch as it is manifeſtly known, and granted that the multitude of the ſaid houſes, and the miſ-government of them, hath been and is daily occaſion, of the idle, riotous, and diſſolute living of great numbers of people, that leaving all ſuch honeſt and painful courſe of life as they ſhould follow, do meet and aſſemble there, and of many particular abuſes and diſorders that do thereupon enſue. And yet nevertheleſs it is conſidered that the uſe and exerciſe of ſuch plays (not being evil in itſelf) may with a good order and moderation, be ſuffered in a well-governed ſtate: And that her Majeſty being pleaſed ſometimes to take delight and recreation in the ſight and hearing of them, ſome order is fit to be taken, for the allowance and maintenance of ſuch

perſons

In this theatrical edict of the privy-council, we see the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers. They

persons as are thought meetest in that kind to yield her Majesty recreation and delight, and consequently of the houses that must serve for publick playing to keep them in exercise. To the end therefore that both the great abuses of the plays and playing-houses may be redressed, and yet the aforesaid use and moderation of them retained; The Lords and the rest of her Majesty's privy-council, with one and full consent have ordered in manner and form as followeth:—

First—That there shall be about the city two houses and no more, allowed to serve for the use of the common stage plays; of the which houses, one shall be in Surrey, in that place which is commonly called *the Bankside* or thereabouts, and the other in Middlesex.—And for as much as their Lordships have been informed by Edmund Tilney Esqr. her Majesty's servant, and Master of the Revels, that the house now in hand to be built by the said Edward Allen, is not intended to increase the number of the playhouses but to be instead of another (namely the Curtain) which is either to be ruined, and plucked down, or to be put to some other good use, as also that the situation thereof is meet and convenient for that purpose; It is likewise ordered, that the said house of Allen shall be allowed to be one of the two houses, and namely for the house to be allowed in Middlesex for the company of players belonging to the Lord Admiral, so as the house called the Curtain be (as it is pretended) either ruinated, or applied to some other good use. And for the other house to be allowed on Surrey side, whereas their Lordships are pleased to permit, to the company of players, that shall play there, to make their own choice, which they will have, of divers houses that are there, choosing one of them and no more. And the said company of players, being

They allowed *the uſe* of theatres, but endeavoured, by corrective regulations, to prevent *the abuſes* of them; acknowledging, in the

the ſervants of the Lord Chamberlain that are to play there, have made choice, of the houſe called *The* GLOBE; it is ordered, that the ſaid houſe and none other ſhall be there allowed: And eſpecially it is forbidden that any ſtage plays ſhall be played (as ſometimes they have been) in any common inn for publick aſſembly in or near about the city.

Secondly—Foraſmuch as theſe ſtage plays, by the multitude of houſes and company of players have been ſo frequent not ſerving for recreation, but inviting and calling the people daily from their trade and work to miſpend their time. It is likewiſe ordered, that the two ſeveral companies of players aſſigned unto the two houſes allowed, may play each of them in their ſeveral houſe twice a week, and no oftener; and eſpecially they ſhall refrain to play on the Sabbath-day, upon pain of impriſonment and further penalty: And that they ſhall forbear altogether in the time of Lent, and likewiſe at ſuch time and times as any extraordinary ſickneſs or infection of diſeaſe ſhall appear to be in or about the city.

Thirdly—Becauſe the orders will be of little force and effect unleſs they be duly put in execution, by thoſe unto whom it appertaineth to ſee them executed: It is ordered that ſeveral copies of theſe orders ſhall be ſent to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the juſtices of the peace of the counties of Middleſex, and Surrey, and that letters ſhall be written unto them from their Lordſhips, ſtrictly charging them to ſee to the execution of the ſame, as well by committing to priſon any owners of playhouſes, and players, as ſhall diſobey and reſiſt theſe orders, as by any other good and lawful means that, in their diſcretion they ſhall find expedient, and to certify their Lordſhips from time to time as they ſhall ſee cauſe of their proceedings herein."

language

language of John Taylor, the water-poet:

" For, plays are good, or bad, as they are us'd;
" And, beſt inventions often are abus'd."

For all the ſalutary purpoſes of *honeſt recreation*, they deemed two playhouſes ſufficient; one in Middleſex, which was to be *The Fortune*; and one in Surrey, to be *The Globe*: And, foreſeeing that thoſe regulations would be of little effect, without enforcement, either for enjoying the uſe, or correcting the abuſe, of many playhouſes, the privy-council wrote letters from Greenwich, on the 22d of June 1600, to the Lord Mayor of London, and to the juſtices of Middleſex, and of Surrey; urging them, by every proper motive, to carry thoſe wiſe regulations into effectual execution (*i*). Owing to whatever cauſe, whether want of authority, in the magiſtrates, or want of inclination in the men, theſe orders of the privy-council were not executed. The diſorders of the playhouſes rather increaſed, than diminiſhed. The mayor, and aldermen of London, felt the grievance, without being able to apply the remedy: For, they were neither urged, by the clamour of the multitude, nor ſupported, by the voice of the people; who now reliſhed theatrical amuſements,

(*i*) Council-regiſter of the 22d June 1600.

as they were better accommodated, in the many new playhouſes, and better gratified by the repreſentation of Shakſpeare's dramas. The privy-council did not ſo much partake of the ſcenic enthuſiaſm of the people, as they viewed the popular concourſe to ſcenic repreſentations, in the light of a political diſorder; which, having increaſed under reſtraint, required correction, rather than countenance. In this ſpirit, they wrote a ſtronger letter to the Lord Mayor, and aldermen, of London, on the 31ſt of December 1601; reprehending paſt neglects, and requiring future compliance with the former orders (*f*).

The

(*f*) The following is a tranſcript of the letter to the Lord Mayor and aldermen, from the council-regiſter of the 31ſt of December 1601:

"We have received a letter from you, renewing a complaint of the great abuſe and diſorder within and about the city of London, by reaſon of the multitude of playhouſes, and the inordinate reſort and concourſe of diſſolute and idle people daily unto publick ſtage plays; for the which information, as wee do commend your Lordſhip becauſe it betokeneth your care and deſire to reform the diſorders of the city; So wee muſt let you know, that we did much rather expect to underſtand that our order (ſet down and preſcribed about a year and a half ſince for reformation of the ſaid diſorders upon the like complaint at that time) had been duly executed, than to find the ſame diſorders and abuſes ſo much increaſed as they are. The blame whereof, as we

cannot

The privy-council, on the ſame day, wrote, with a ſharper pen, to the juſtices of Middleſex, and Surrey, letters of reproof, rather than directions, in theſe energetic terms: "It is in vain for us to take knowledge of great

cannot but impute in great part to the juſtices of the peace or ſome of them in the counties of Middleſex, and Surrey, who had ſpecial direction and charge from us to ſee our ſaid order executed, for the confines of the city, wherein the moſt part of thoſe playhouſes are ſituate: So wee do wiſh that it might appear unto us, that any thing hath been endeavoured by the predeceſſor of you the Lord Mayor, and by you the aldermen, for the redreſs of the ſaid enormities, and for obſervation and execution of our ſaid order within the city: We do therefore once again renew hereby our direction unto you, (as we have done by our letters to the juſtices of Middleſex, and Surrey) concerning the obſervation of our former order, which wee do pray and require you to cauſe duly and diligently to be put in execution for all points thereof, and eſpecially for the expreſs and ſtreight prohibition of any more playhouſes, than thoſe two that are mentioned and allowed in the ſaid order: Charging and ſtraitly commanding all ſuch perſons as are the owners of any the houſes uſed for ſtage plays within the city, not to permit any more public plays to be uſed, exerciſed, or ſhowed from henceforth in their ſaid houſes: and to take bonds of them (if you ſhall find it needful) for the performance thereof, or if they ſhall refuſe to enter into bonds, or to obſerve our ſaid order, then to commit them to priſon, untill they ſhall conform themſelves thereunto: And ſo praying you, as yourſelf do make the complaint, and find the enormity, ſo to apply your beſt endeavour to the remedy of the abuſe."

abuſes,

abuſes, and to give order for redreſs, if our directions find no better execution, than it ſeemeth they do; and we muſt needs impute the blame thereof to you, the juſtices of peace, that are put in truſt to ſee them performed; whereof we may give you a plain inſtance in the great abuſe continued, or rather increaſed, in the multitude of playhouſes, and ſtage plays, in, and about, the city of London (*k*)."

In thoſe proceedings, for reſtraining the number of playhouſes, and checking the popular concourſe to ſcenic entertainments, a diſcerning eye may perceive, that ſtage plays, rather than the Engliſh ſtage in general had riſen to great, though not to the greateſt ſplendour. At the demiſe of Elizabeth, Shakſpeare had produced two and twenty of his immortal dramas. The commiſſion, which Elizabeth eſtabliſhed, in 1589, for reviſing plays, before Shakſpeare's appearance, as a dramatiſt, had an obvious tendency to form the chaſtity of his muſe; as the chaſtity of Shakſpeare's muſe had the ſame tendency to reform the popular taſte. To this pure ſource of refinement, and of pleaſure, we may trace the popular paſſion for theatrical repreſentations, which the miniſters of Elizabeth regarded as

(*k*) Council-regiſter of that date.

a diſorder, requiring neceſſary reform. The concourſe of the people to the playhouſe enabled the managers of them, firſt, to furniſh ſimple accommodation, then to give greater convenience, and laſtly, to ſuperadd ornamental ſplendour: This progreſs of improvement, we may remark, drew ſtill more the popular reſort; while more ample recompenſe ſupplied the means of higher gratification to the multitudes, who, at the demiſe of Elizabeth, found in theatrical repreſentations their greateſt amuſement.

Such are the various views, which thoſe new notices give of the ſtage, in England, at every ſtep of its progreſs. As Scotland was inhabited, during every period, by people of the ſame lineage, its laws, its cuſtoms, and its amuſements, were, in every age, nearly alike. When the warlike ſports of the field were faſhionable among the valorous people of England, tournaments, and other martial paſtimes, were the delight of the hardy inhabitants of Scotland (*l*). When London had its *abbot* of *miſrule*, Edinburgh had its *abbot*

(*l*) Arnot's Edin. 71: William the Lion, who died in 1212, gave to the citizens of Edinburgh a valley, on the road to Leith, for the ſpecial purpoſe of holding tournaments and other manly feats of arms.

of

of (*m*) *unreaſon*; when the citizens of London amuſed themſelves with the feſtive feats of Robin Hood, the citizens of Edinburgh diverted themſelves with the manly exerciſes of *Robert* (*n*) *Hude*; and while the youth of London roſe in tumult, when their ſports were reſtrained, the (*o*) *bairns* of Edinburgh ran into inſurrection, when an attempt was made, at the æra of the Reformation, to ſuppreſs *the game of Robin Hood.* In Scotland, the drama held the ſame courſe, as in England, from rudeneſs to refinement; beginning with *ſcriptural* (*p*) MYSTERIES; improving with MORALITIES; and *finiſhing off* with *monarchicke* TRAGEDIES (*q*).

(*m*) Arnot's Edin. 77. In 1555, the parliament of Scotland paſſed an act "Anentis Robert Hude and Abbot "of Un-reaſon;" whereby it was ordained, "that in all "times cummyng, na maner of perſon be choſen Robert "Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreaſon, Queenis of "May, nor otherwiſe, nouther in burgh, nor to Landwart." [Skenes Actes, 1597, p. 150.] Thoſe ſports of the field were ſurely very harmleſs, perhaps ſalutary: But, the *moralities*, which, at that very epoch, were ſet forth by Sir David Lyndſay, were certainly in the higheſt degree obſcene, in their repreſentation, and immoral, in their tendency.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Let no minute commentator remark the *Scotticiſm* of that good old *Engliſh* word, which is ſometimes uſed by Shakſpeare, and Ben Johnſon.

(*p*) Ib. 75. (*q*) Lord Stirling's Works.

It

It was not at Edinburgh alone, that *the Abbot of Unreaſon* practiſed his *ruſtick revelry*. At Aberdeen, a city, noted in every age for hilarity, they had in very early times, an Abbot of (*r*) *Bonne-Acorde*, who gratified the citizens with a play; a ſcriptural play, or *myſtery* (*s*). About a century after the acting of the *myſtery* of *the Haliblude* on the *Wyndmyllhill*, at Aberdeen, Sir David Lyndſay exhibited his *moralities* upon the Caſtlehill, near Cowpar-in-Fife. The ſarcaſm of the ſatiriſt

(*r*) "1445 April the 30th: The council and many of "the gild-brethren for letting and *ſtanching* of divers enor-"mities done in time bygone by the *abbots* of the *burgh* "called of *bone acorde* [propoſed] that in time coming they "will giue no fees to no ſuch abbots; and for this inſtant "year they will haue no ſuch abbot, but that the alderman "for the time and any baillie he chuſes to take with (join til) "him to ſupply that faute (want)." [MS. extracts from the city records of Aberdeen.] The Abbot of *Bonne Acorde* was, however, ſo agreeable to the people, that he continued long after to gratify them yearly with public ſports: And, the fees, which were objected to, in 1445, were afterwards ſettled at *ten merks*, a year. [City records, 7th Auguſt 1486.]

(*s*) On the 22d of October 1445, Thomas Lawſon was received, as a burgeſs of Aberdeen, a privilege, which was lately granted him, when he was abbot of bonne acorde, for his expences laid out by him in a certain play [ludo] *de ly haliblude apud ly Wyndmyll hill.* [MS. extracts from the city records, which were written, in thoſe times, partly in low Latin, and partly in Norman French.]

was

was chiefly levelled at the *prelats*, the *monks*, and the *nuns*, who were exhibited, as extremely worthleſs: But, what muſt have been the coarſeneſs of the barons, the dames, and the monarch, who could hear ſuch ribaldry, without indignation, and ſee ſuch obſceneneſs, without a bluſh (*t*).

A reformation was, however, at hand, which is ſaid to have been brought forward, full as much by *the moralities* of Lindſay, as by *the ſermons* of Knox. The Church of Scotland, as it adopted its fundamental principles, from the religious practices of Geneva, at the ſame time aſſumed its enmity to dramatic exhibitions. It is, nevertheleſs, certain, that a company of players performed at Perth, in

(*t*) It appears from Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 300, as Mr. Malone has indeed remarked, that when the marriage of James the ivth with Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Henry the viith, was celebrated at Edinburgh, in 1503, "after dynnar a *moralitie* was played by the ſaid Maſter "Ingliſhe and hys companyons, in the preſence of the King "and Qwene, and then daunces were daunced." Yet, the hiſtorian of the ſtage ſeems not to have adverted, that Maſter Ingliſhe, and his companyons, with menſtrells of muſick, accompanied Margaret from Wyndſor-caſtle to Holyrood-houſe. [Ib. 267-280-289.] I have, however, ſhown from the evidence of records, the exiſtence of ſimilar plays, in Scoland, upwards of half a century before that memorable epoch.

June

June 1589. In obedience, indeed, to the act of the aſſembly, which had been made, in (*u*) 1575, they applied to the conſiſtory of the church, for a licence; ſhewing a copy of their play: And, they were, accordingly, permitted to act the play, on condition, however, "that no ſwearing, banning, nor any ſcurrility ſhall be ſpoken, which would be a "ſcandal to religion, and an evil example to "others (*v*)." Thus, it appears, that the church of Scotland adopted analogous mea-

(*u*) "By the General Aſſembly begun and halden at "Edinburgh the 7th day of March 1574;

"It is thoucht meit and concludit yat na clerk playes, co-"medies or tragedies be maid of yé cannonicall Scriptures "alſweil new as auld on Sabboth day nor wark day in time "coming. The contravenars hereof (if they be miniſters) "to be ſecludit fra y^r function and if they be utheris to be "puniſhit be ye diſcipline of ye kirk; and ordains an article "to be given in to ſick as ſitts upon ye policie yat for uther "playes comedies tragedies and utheris profaine playes as "are not maid upon authentick pairtes of ye Scriptures, "may be conſiderit before they be exponit publictlie and "yat they be not played upon ye Sabboth dayes." [From the MS. "Buik of the Univerſal Kirk of Scotland quhairin "ye heides and concluſiones devyſit be the miniſters and "commiſſioners of the particular kirks thairof are ſpecially "expreſſit and containit."]

(*v*) An Account of Perth, 1796, p. 40, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, who quotes the old records for the facts.

ſures to the judicious regulations of the wiſe miniſters of England, at the ſame epoch; by allowing *the uſe*, but preventing *the abuſe* of dramatic exhibitions. As a ſcholar, and a poet, King James admired the drama. And, *ſome Engliſh comedians* coming to Edinburgh, in 1599, he gave them a licenſe to act, though he thereby offended the *eccleſiaſtics*, who wanted not ſuch provocation to diſturb his government (*w*).

(*w*) Archbiſhop Spottiſwood gives the following account of that tranſaction: "In the end of the year [1599] happened ſome "new jars betwixt the King and the miniſters of Edinburgh; "becauſe of a company of Engliſh comedians, whom the "King had licenſed to play within the burgh. The miniſ- "ters being offended with the liberty given them, did ex- "claim in their ſermons againſt ſtage-players, their unruli- "neſs and immodeſt behaviour; and in their ſeſſions made "an act, *prohibiting people to reſort unto their plays, under pain "of the church cenſures.* The King, taking this to be a "diſcharge of his licenſe, called the ſeſſions before the coun- "cil, and ordained them to annul their act, and not to re- "ſtrain the people from going to theſe comedies: Which "they promiſed, and accordingly performed; whereof pub- "lication was made the day after, and all that pleaſed per- "mitted to repair unto the ſame, to the great offence of the "miniſters." [Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 457.] In this account, there ſeem to be implied two points; that King James did not ſend for the Engliſh comedians; and that there was not any company of Scottiſh comedians, in Scotland, during his reign.

Yet,

Yet, plays and players may be conſidered, as *ſightleſs ſubſtances*, in Scotland, during that age. Nor, has diligence been able to ſhow in the Scottiſh literature, any thing like a comedie, hiſtorie, or tragedie, from the revival of learning, to the acceſſion of King James. The *ſcurrilities* of Lyndſay can no more be conſidered as legitimate dramas, than the *ſcurril jeſts* of Skelton, "a ſharpe ſatiriſt, indeed," ſays Puttenham, "but with more rayling and "ſcoffery than became a poet laureat (*x*)." *Philotus*, which, when orginally printed, in 1603, was entitled, "Ane verie excellent, and "delectabill *Treatiſe*," was called a *comedie*, when it was republiſhed, in 1612. The marriage of *Philotus*, as we ſee it, in this rhapſodical *colloquy*, can ſcarce be called *a wedding mannerly modeſt*: Nor, ought we to be ſurpriſed, that the church of Scotland preferred *a ſad funeral feaſt* to the coarſe, and immodeſt dialogues, which were preſented on the *playfield* to an unenlightened people. But, Lord Stirling was now *weaving warp, and weaving woof*, the *winding-ſheet* of obſcene plays: And, the *monarchicke tragedies*, which muſt be allowed to have ſentiments that ſparkle, though no words

(*x*) The Arte of Engliſh Poeſie, 1589, p. 50.

that burn, were entitled to the honour of James's acceptance, and to the higher honour of Shakſpeare's adoption.

The hiſtorian of the Engliſh ſtage has aptly divided his ſubject into *three* periods: The *firſt*, from the origin of dramatic entertainments, to the appearance of Shakſpeare's dramas; the *ſecond*, during the illumination of the ſcene, by the ſun of Shakſpeare; and the *third*, from the time, that this great luminary ceaſed to give light, and heat, and animation to the theatric world. Of the firſt of thoſe periods, much has already been ſaid; of the ſecond, ſomething remains to be added; and of the laſt, little need be remarked: It has been my conſtant endeavour, as it will be my ſubſequent practice, to add the new to the old, rather than to make the old ſeem new.

The demiſe of Elizabeth gave a different order to the ſeveral parts of our theatrical arrangements. King James is ſaid "to have "patronized the ſtage with as much warmth, "as his predeceſſor:" But, after all the inquiries, which have been hitherto made, it has remained unknown, that a kind of theatric revolution took pace, on the arrival of James from Scotland. While he was beſtowing grace on every rank, he ſhowed particular favour

vour to *the actors* (*y*): He accepted the Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, as his own; the Queen retained the Earl of Worceſter's ſervants, as her's; and Prince Henry took the Earl of Nottingham's players, for his dramatic ſervants. King James arrived, at the Charterhouſe, London, on the 7th of May 1603; which may be deemed the epoch of that revolution. On the 19th of May he granted the *licenſe*, which was firſt publiſhed by Rymer, in 1705, to his *ſervants*, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakſpeare, Richard Burbadge, Auguſtine Phillipes, John Hemings, Henrie Condel, William Slye, Robert Armin, and their aſſociates, "freely to exerciſe the faculty of "playing comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, in-"terludes, morals, paſtorals, ſtage plaies, as

(*y*) There is the following paſſage in Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, which was printed by R. B. [Robert Barker] in 1604, ſign^r. B:—"Nay; ſee the bounty of our "all kind ſoveraigne; not only to the indifferent of worth, "and the worthy of honour, did He freely deal about theſe "cauſes: But, to the mean gave grace; as taking to him-"ſelf the late Lord Chamberlain's ſervants, now the King's "*actors*; the Queen, taking to her the Earl of *Worſter's* "ſervants, that are now her *actors*; and the Prince, their "*ſonne* Henry, Prince of Wales, full of hope, took to him "the Earl of Nottingham his ſervants, who are now his *ac-*"*ters*; ſo that of Lord's ſervants, they are now the ſervants "of the King, Queen, and Prince."

" well within their *now uſual* houſe, called " the *Globe*, as within any convenient places, " in any city, and univerſitie, within his " kingdoms, and dominions." Ample, and favourable, as this licenſe was to *thoſe ſervants*, it did not give them any excluſive privilege, which could prevent the actors of the Queen, or the ſervants of the Prince, from acting ſimilar plays, within his realms; though they were thus diſtinguiſhed by the royal licenſe. Of ſuch players, who were ſtill more diſtinguiſhed, as the original actors of Shakſpeare's characters, it may gratify curioſity, to know a little more of the life, and end.

——LAURENCE FLETCHER.——

Of this perſonage, who now appeared, at the head of the King's ſervants, in the royal licenſe of 1603, Mr. Malone, the hiſtorian of our ſtage, has ſaid nothing. Fletcher was, probably, of St. Saviour's Southwark, where ſeveral families of the name of Fletcher dwelt, as appears from the pariſh regiſter. He was placed before Shakſpeare, and Richard Burbadge, in King James's licenſe, as much perhaps by accident, as by deſign. Auguſtine Phillips, when he made his will, in May 1605, bequeathed to *his fellow*, Laurence

Fletcher, twenty ſhillings. And, *this fellow* of Phillips, and of Shakſpeare, was buried in St. Saviour's church, on the 12th of September 1608 (*z*). It does not appear, that he ever publiſhed any work, either in proſe, or verſe.

——WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.——

The great outlines of the life of this illuſtrious dramatiſt are ſufficiently known. He was born on the 23d of April 1564; and died, where he was born, on the 23d of April 1616. Early in life, before he could have acquired any profeſſion, he became a huſband, and a father. Whether he ever removed his family to London is uncertain (*a*). At

(*z*) The pariſh-regiſter records that event in the following manner: "1608, September 12th [was buried] Lau-"rence Fletcher, a *man*, in the church." I could not find, in the prerogative-office, either a will of the deceaſed, or any adminiſtration to his eſtate.

(*a*) Aubrey has preſerved a tradition, which is extremely probable, that Shakſpeare uſed to travel, once a year, from Stratford to London, and from London to Stratford: If this tradition be admitted, as a fact, it would prove, with ſtrong conviction, that he had his family at Stratford, and his buſineſs in London. If documents be produced to prove, that *one* Shakſpeare, a player, reſided in St. Saviour's pariſh, Southwark, at the end of the ſixteenth, or the beginning of the ſeventeenth, century, this evidence will not be concluſive

At what time he firſt viſited London is ſtill more uncertain. He certainly roſe to excellence, as a player, before the year 1591: And, he began to produce thoſe dramas, which have eternized his name, about the year 1591. He was celebrated, as a poet, in 1594: He became greatly diſtinguiſhed, as a dramatiſt, before the demiſe of Elizabeth. He was adopted as one of the theatrical ſervants of King James: And he was placed the ſecond, in the liſt of thoſe players, who were ſpecified in the royal licenſe of 1603. In

proof of the ſettled reſidence of Shakſpeare: For, it is a fact, as new, as it is curious, that his brother Edmond, who was baptized on the 3d of May 1580, became a *player* at *the Globe*; lived in St. Saviour's; and was buried in *the church* of that pariſh: the entry in the regiſter being without a blur; "1607 December 31, [was buried] *Edmond Shake-* "*ſpeare*, a *player*, in the church;"[2] there can be no diſpute about the date, or the name, or the *profeſſion*. It is remarkable, that the pariſh clerk, who ſcarcely ever mentions any other diſtinction of the deceaſed, than a *man*, or a *woman*, ſhould, by I know not what inſpiration, have recorded Edmond Shakeſpeare, as a *player*. There were, conſequently, two Shakſpeares, on the ſtage, during the ſame period; as there were two Burbadges, who were alſo brothers, and who acted on the ſame theatre. Mr. Malone has, indeed, remarked, that the burial of Edmond Shakſpeare does not appear in the pariſh-regiſter of Stratford-upon-Avon. I have not been able to find any notice of Edmond Shakſpeare, in the prerogative-office.

1605,

1605, Auguſtine Phillips, by his will, recollected Shakſpeare, as *his fellow*, and bequeathed him "a thirty ſhilling piece in "gould," as a tribute of affection. How long he acted is uncertain; although he continued to write for the ſtage till the year 1614, in which year, he is ſaid to have produced *Twelfth-Night*, his thirty-fourth play. When he retired from the ſtage, he probably diſpoſed of his property in the theatre; as there is no ſpecific bequeſt of his ſhare by the teſtament, which he made on the 25th of March 1616.

The *will* of Shakſpeare has been often publiſhed, though not always, with ſufficient accuracy. It is not eaſy to tell, who of all the admirers of our illuſtrious dramatiſt, firſt had the curioſity to look into his will. It is even a point of ſome difficulty to aſcertain when, and by whom, the will of Shakſpeare was firſt publiſhed. Mr. Malone, indeed, is ſtudious to reprobate Theobald, for publiſhing it moſt blunderingly. It was not publiſhed by the player-editors, in 1623; nor by Rowe, in 1709; nor by Pope, in 1725, or 1728; nor by Theobald, in 1733, or 1740; and he died in 1742, if we may believe the *Biographia Dramatica*; nor was it publiſhed by

by Hanmer, in 1744; nor by Warburton, in 1747: But, it was certainly publiſhed, with the original errors, in the *Biographia* (*b*) *Britannica*, 1763, for the firſt time, I believe. Why, then, does Mr. Malone accuſe Theobald, who was dead before the event, of that publication, and of thoſe errors (*c*)? The fact will be the accuſer's beſt apology: He did not look into the two firſt editions of Theobald, which were publiſhed during his

(*b*) Volume the *ſixth*; part i.

(*c*) Shak. vol. i. pp. 187—190—191. Mr. Malone ſays, "that the name at the top of the margin of the firſt ſheet "was probably written by the ſcrivener who drew the will." [Ib. 191.] The fact, however, is, that this name was written by the *entering clerk*, in the prerogative-office, at the time; as the clerks of the preſent day aſſured me; pointing at the *Te* [*teſtamentum*] which is prefixed to the name; and ſhowing the ſimilarity of the hand-writing to the writing of the *probat.* It is true, as Mr. Malone ſays, that the name of Shakſpeare is ſubſcribed on the margin of the firſt brief of the will; but, he ought to have added, what is plainly the fact, that the name is ſubſcribed on the margin, at the bottom of the ſheet, on the left hand corner; and was obviouſly there ſubſcribed by the teſtator for want of room on the right hand corner of the ſheet. There is no other ground for Mr. Malone's inſinuation, that this ſignature was not made by Shakſpeare, except that the three ſignatures to the will are very different in the manner, and ſpelling; But, all the genuine ſignatures of Shakſpeare are diſſimilar, [See before the plate, which faces p. 224.]

life,

life, for aſcertaining the truth; but, had caſt a heedleſs eye on a ſpurious edition of Theobald, that was printed, ſoon after 1763, with the will, which was obviouſly republiſhed from the *Biographia* with all its errors, in reſpect to the gilt *boxes*, and the *brown* bed. The ghoſt of Theobald might cry out with the armourer, in Henry VI: "*Hang me*, if ever "I publiſhed the will: My *accuſer* is my "*prentice*; and *when I did correct him for* "*his fault*, *he did vow*, *he would be even* "*with me*."

—— RICHARD BURBADGE.——

This celebrated comedian, who was, probably, born before the year 1570, in Holywell ſtreet, and who roſe, by his talents, to the higheſt rank of his profeſſion, was the ſon of James Burbadge, who died in February $159\frac{6}{7}$, and may be regarded as one of *the elders* of the Engliſh ſtage: Yet, he lived to enjoy one of the greateſt pleaſures of a parent; to ſee his ſon at the head of his profeſſion, and admired by the world. Richard Burbadge, probably, appeared on the ſtage, as ſoon as he could ſpeak. In the year 1589, he repreſented *Gorboduc*, and *Tereus*, in *Tarleton's Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. In 1597, Richard Burbadge played the arduous character

character of Richard III, for the first time of its being performed. In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, which was probably written about the year 1602, he is introduced, in his proper person; instructing a Cambridge scholar how to act Richard III. He performed the most difficult parts in Shakspeare's dramas; and was "such "an actor," says Sir Richard Baker, with an unprophetic spirit, "as no age must ever look "to see the like." He was an eminent partner in the Globe, and Blackfriars, theatres; so that the actors, who performed there, were called *Burbadge's Company*. He was appointed by Augustine Phillips, in 1605, one of the overseers of his will. He continued to distinguish himself, and to amuse the lovers of the drama, till March $16\frac{1}{10}$, when he was carried off by the plague; leaving his wife Winifrid, pregnant with her seventh child, and executrix of his nuncupative will. An epitaph, which was written for him, though not inscribed on his tomb, has the following couplet:

This man hathe now, (as many more can tell)
Ended his part; and he hath acted well (*d*).

—— AUGUSTINE

(*d*) He was buried in the parish of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, as the register has recorded, on the 16th of March $16\frac{1}{10}$.

—— AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS. ——

Was placed next to Richard Burbadge, in the royal licenſe, of 1603. He was an author, as well as an actor: And left behind him

1618.—The ſame regiſter hath entered the baptiſms, and burials of his children, as follows; and the regiſter, by recording the truth, ſhows the inaccuracy of Mr. Malone's ſtatement. [Shakſ. vol. i. part ii. p. 185.]

Names	*Baptiſms.*	*Burials.*
1. Richard	. . . . .	16th Auguſt 1607
2. *Julia*	2d January 160$\frac{2}{3}$	12th September 1608
3. Frances	16th September 1604	19th September 1604
4. Ann	8th Auguſt 1607	. . . . .
5. Winifryd	10th October 1613	14th October 1616
6. *Julya*	26th December 1614	15th Auguſt 1615
7. Sarah	5th Auguſt 1619	. . . . .

Sarah is entered in the regiſter as "the daughter of Winifrid Burbadge, widow."—The name of *Julia* was the name given by the father, not *Juliet:* The name of *Juliet* was afterwards impoſed by the pariſh clerk, when he recorded the burial of the firſt Julia, on the 12th of September 1608. —This fact proves, that Mr. Malone's obſervation, on this point, is groundleſs.

Richard Burbadge had a brother Cuthbert, who did not riſe to his eminence, as a comedian, but was much reſpected as a man. He alſo lived in Holywell ſtreet; and was buried in the ſame pariſh, as appears by the regiſter, on the 17th of October 1636: His wife, Elizabeth, was buried in the ſame cemetery, on the 1ſt of October 1636: And the graveſtone, which covered them, was removed, when the new church of St. Leonard's was built. They had three children: James, who was buried, in the ſame pariſh, on the 15th of July 1597; Walter, who was baptized, on the 22d of June 1595;

him ſome ludicrous rhimes, which were entered in the Stationers' books, in 1593, and were entitled, *The Jigg of the Slippers.* In Tarleton's *Platt of The Seven deadlie Sinns*, Phillips repreſented the effeminate *Sardanapalus*, in the year 1589. He is ſuppoſed to have repreſented characters in low life, with Kempe, and Armine, rather than royal perſonages, with Burbadge. Whatever he were, in the theatre, he certainly was a reſpectable man, in the world. He amaſſed conſiderable property by his prudence. And he died at Mortlake, in Surrey, in May 1605; and was buried, by his dying requeſt, in the chancel of the church of that pariſh; leaving his wife, Ann, executrix of his will, with this proviſo, however, that if ſhe married again, John Hemynges, Richard Burbadge, William

1595; and Elizabeth, who was baptized, on the 30th of December 1601; as the ſame regiſter records.—In the pariſh-regiſter, this celebrated name is ſpelt three different ways; Burbidge, Burbadge, and Burbege; but, moſt frequently Burbadge: in the regiſter of the prerogative-office, it is written Burbeige; ſo little uniformity was there, in thoſe times, on this head; and ſo little foundation for criticiſm, on this point! In fact, the celebrated comedian ſubſcribed his name Richard *Burbadg*, if we may determine from a ſingle autograph, No. XIV, in plate ii. of Mr. Malone's Inquiry.

Slye,

Slye, and Timothie Whithorne, ſhould be his executors. His widow did marry again: and John Hemynges immediately proved the will, on the 16th of May 1607; and aſſumed the truſt, which Auguſtine Phillips had repoſed in him. As the will of Phillipps has eſcaped Mr. Malone's reſearches, and contains many curious particulars, I ſubjoin, in the note, a copy, which was extracted from the regiſtry of the prerogative-court (*e*).

—— JOHN

(*e*) AUGUSTINE PHILLIPS'S WILL.

In the Name of God Amen, the fourthe daie of May Anno Dm̄ 1605 and in the yeres of the Reigne of Or Sourigne Lorde James by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the Faithe &c, that is to ſay of England Fraunce and Ireland the thirde, and of Scotland the Eighte and thirtith, I Auguſtine Phillipps of Mo'tlack in the County of Surrey Gent. beinge at this p̄te ſick and weak in body, but of good and p̄fecte mynde and remembrance thanks be given unto Almighty God, do make ordeyne and diſpoſe this my p̄te Teſtam't & laſt Will in mañ and forme followinge, that is to ſay, Firſte and principally I comende my Soule into th'ands of Allmighty God my Maker Savior and Redeemer in whome and by the meritts of the ſecond p̄ſon Jeſus Chriſt I truſte and believe aſſuredly to be ſaved and to have full cleire remiſſion and forgiveneſs of my ſinnes, and I comitt my body to be buried in the chauncell of the piſhe Churche of Mo'telack aforeſaid, and after my body buryed and Funerall charge paide, Then I will that all ſuche Debts and Duetyes as I owe to any perſon or perſons of Righte or in Conſcience ſhal be truely paide, And that done

—— JOHN HEMINGES. ——

The earlieſt notice, with regard to this reſpectable player, is his marriage, on the 10th of

done then I will that all and ſingr my Goods Chattels plate Houſehold ſtuffe Jewells reddy money and debts ſhal be devided by my Executrix and o'ſeers of this my laſte Will and Teſtam^t into three equall and indefferente parts and porcons whereof one equal parte I geve and bequeathe to Anne Phillipps my Loveinge Wife to her owne prop uſe and behoufe, One other parte thereof to and amongeſte my three eldeſte daughters Maudlyne Phillipps, Rebecca Phillipps, and Anne Phillipps, equally amongſte them to be devided porcon and porcon like, and to be paide and deliverd unto them as they and every of them ſhall accompliſhe & come to their lawful ages of Twenty & one yeres, or at their daies of marriage, and ev'y of them to be others Heyre of their ſaid pts and porcons, yf any of them ſhall fortune to dye, before their ſaid ſevall ag^s of twenty and one yeres or daies of marriage and th'other pte thereof I reſrve to my ſelfe and to my Executrix to pforme my Legays hereafter followinge, Item I geve and bequeathe to the poore of the piſhe of Mortlack aforeſaid, Fyve pounds of lawfull money of England, to be diſtributed by the Churchwardens of the ſame piſhe within twelve monethes after my deceaſe, Item I geve and bequeathe to Agnes Bennett my loveinge mother during her naturall life, ev'y yere yerely the Some of Fyve pounds of lawfull Money of England, to be paid her at the four uſuall feaſts or termes in the yere by my Executrix, out of any parte and porcon reſrved by this my prte Will, Item I geve to my Brothers Willm Webb and James Webb, yf they ſhall be lyevinge at my deceaſe to eyther of them

of March 1583, to Rebecca Knell, the widow, as

them the Some of Tenne pounds a peece of lawful Money of England, to be paid unto them wthin three yeres after my deceafe, Item I geve and bequeathe to my Sifter Elizabeth Goughe the Some of tenne pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paid her wthin One yere after my deceafe, Item I will and bequeathe unto Myles Borne and Phillipps Borne two Sounes of my Sifter Margery Borne to eyther of them Tenne pounds a peece of lawfull Money of England to be paid unto them when they fhall accompliſhe the full age of Twenty and one yeres, Item I geve and bequeathe unto Tymothy Whithorne the Sum of Twentye pounds of lawfull Money of England to be paide unto him within one yere after my deceafe, Item I geve and bequeathe unto and amongſte the hyred men of the Company wch. I am of, which fhalbe at the tyme of my deceafe the Some of fyve pounds of lawfull Money of England to be equally diſtributed amongeſte them, Item I geve and bequeathe to my Fellowe Willm Shakeſpeare a thirty fhillings peece in gould, To my Fellowe Henry Condell one other thirty fhillinge peece in gould, To my Servaunte Chriſtopher Beeſton Thirty fhillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Lawrence Fletcher twenty fhillings in Gould, To my Fellowe Robert Armyne twenty fhillings in Gould To my fellowe Richard Coweley twenty fhillings in Gould To my fellowe Alexander Cook twenty fhillings in Gould, To my fellowe Nicholas Tooley twenty fhillings in Gould, Item Igeve to the Preacher wch. fhall preache at my Funerall the Some of twenty fhillings, Item I geve to Samuell Gilborne my late apprentice, the Some of Fortye fhillings and my mouſe colloured Velvit hoſe and a White Taffety Dublet a blacke taffety ſute my purple Cloke Sword and Dagger and my Baſe Viall. Item I geve to James Sands my Apprentice the Some of Fortye fhillings

as I conjecture, of William Knell, the comedian.

and a Citterne a Bandore and a Lute, to be paid and delivēd unto him at the expiracon of his terme of yeres in his Indr. of Apprenticehood. Item my Will is that Elizabeth Phillips my youngeſt daughter ſhall have and quietlye enjoye for terme of her natural lyfe my Houſe and Land in Mortelacke wch. I lately purchaſed to me, Anne my wife, and to the ſaid Elizabeth for terme of Or. lives in full recompence and ſatisfaction of hir ꝑte and porcon wch. ſhe may in any wiſe chalenge or demand of in and to any of my Goods and Chattels whatſoever — And I ordaine and make the ſaid Anne Phillips my loving Wyfe ſole Executrix of this my ꝑſent Teſtament and laſt Will provided alwaies that if the ſaid Anne my Wyfe do at any tyme marrye after my deceaſe, That then and from thenceforth ſhee ſhall ceaſe to be any more or longer Executrix of this my laſt Will or any waies intermeddle wth. the ſame, And the ſaid Anne to haive no ꝑte or porcon of my Goods or Chattells to me or my Executors reſerved or appointed by this my laſt Will and Teſtament, and that then and from thenceforth John Hemings Richard Burbage Wm Slye and Timothie Whithorne ſhal be fully and whollie my Executors of this my laſt Will and Teſtament, as though the ſaid Anne had never bin named, And of the execution of this my preſent Teſtament and laſte Will I ordayne and make the ſaid John Hemings Richard Burbage Wm Slye and Timothie Whithorne Overſeers of this my ꝑſent Teſtament and laſt Will and I bequeathe unto the ſaid John Hemings Richard Burbage and Wm Slye to either of them my ſaid Overſeers for theire paines herein to be taken a boule of Silver of the value of fyve pounds a piece. In Witneſs whereof to this my ꝑſent Teſtament and laſte Will I the ſaid Auguſtine Phillipes

dian (*f*). As early as November 1597, he appears to have been the manager of the Lord Chamberlain's company (*g*). This ſtation, for which he was qualified by his prudence, he held, probably, during forty years. There is reaſon to believe, that he was, originally, a *Warwickſhire lad*; a ſhire, which has produced ſo many players and poets; the Burbadges; the Shakſpeares;

lipes have put my hand and Seale the day and yeare above written—

A: Phillips (LS)

Sealed and dd by the ſaid Auguſtine Phillipes as his laſt Will and Teſtament in the preſence of us Robert Goffe, Wm Sheperd.——[This will was proved, on the 13th of May 1605, by Anne, the relict, and executrix; and on the 16th of May 1607, by John Hemynges, under the condition mentioned in the will, by reaſon of the marriage of Anne, the widow, and executrix, before mentioned.—This will is written on two briefs, in two different hand writings: but the laſt brief only is ſigned by the teſtator.]

(*f*) The regiſter of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, which records this marriage, alſo records the marriage of William Knell with *Rebecca* Edwards, on the 30th of January 158⅞. William Knell did not long ſurvive the celebration of this marriage, though the regiſter does not record his burial: But, it does record the burial of a William Knell, on the 24th of September 1578, who was, probably, the celebrated actor; and the ſecond William Knell, who married young Rebecca Edwards, may, poſſibly, have been his ſon, and alſo a player.

(*g*) The council-regiſter of that date.

the Greens; and the Harts. Of Heminges's caſt of characters, little is known: There is only a tradition, that he performed the arduous part of Falſtaff. If this were true, it would prove, what indeed is apparent in his life, that he was a man of ſtrong ſenſe, and circumſpect humour. He was adopted, with Shakſpeare, by King James, on his acceſſion, as one of his theatrical ſervants; and was ranked the *fifth*, in the royal licenſe of 1603. He ſeems, indeed, to have been too buſy, or too wiſe, during a long life, to write for the public; though he left a ſon, with much leſs wiſdom and more time, who did write. It is a ſtrong recommendation of his character, for diſcretion, and honeſty, that he was called upon, by many friends, to perform the truſt of their executor. He had the honour to be remembered in Shakſpeare's will, and to be the firſt editor of Shakſpeare's dramas. He loſt his wife, who had brought him thirteen children, in 1619 (*b*). He himſelf died, at the age of ſeventy-five, in the pariſh of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived reſpectably, through life; and was buried, as the pariſh regiſter proves, on the 12th of October 1630.

(*b*) She was buried, as the regiſter of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, records, on the 2d of September 1619.

He

He left his ſon William, the executor of an unexecuted (*i*) will; and much property, and

(*i*) The will is publiſhed in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part. ii. p. 191; and in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 335.—William Hemings was baptized on the 3d of October 1602; and was educated at Chriſt Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in 1628; and in March 163$\frac{1}{2}$ he produced a comedy entitled *The Courſing of the Hare*, or *The Madcap*; and afterwards wrote *The Fatal Contract*, and *The Jews Tragedy*.

The following table, which was formed from the pariſh regiſter, will ſhow more accurately than has yet been done, the births, and burials, of John Heminges's children; and will alſo correct the *inaccuracies* of Mr. Malone, both in the *dates*, and *perſons*: He ſpeaks of two daughters, whom the regiſter does not record; Margaret, who is not mentioned by the regiſter; and *Beatrice*, whom, I ſuſpect, he has confounded with Beavis, a *ſon*, who was baptized, in 1601:—

	Names.	Baptiſms.	Burials.
1	Ales [who married John Atkins 11 February 16$\frac{12}{13}$] -	1ſt November 1590	
2	Mary - -	7th May - 1592	9 Auguſt 1592
3	Judith - -	29th Auguſt 1593	
4	Thomaſyn -	15th January 159$\frac{4}{5}$	
5	Jone - -	2d May - 159$\frac{7}{8}$	
6	John - -	2d April - 1598	17 June 1598
7	John - -	12th Auguſt 1599	
8	Beavis (a ſon)	24th May 1601	
9	William - -	3d October 1602	
10	George - -	12th February 160$\frac{4}{5}$	
11	Rebecca -	4th February 160$\frac{5}{6}$	
12	Elizabeth -	6th March - 160$\frac{7}{8}$	
13	Mary - -	21ſt June - 1611	23 July 1611.

many kind tokens of remembrance to his relations, and *fellows*.

—— HENRY CUNDALL. ——

The origin of this honeſt man, rather than great actor, or celebrated writer, is unknown. He does not appear ſo prominent, on the page of theatrical hiſtory, as Heminges; though he had appeared in the theatrical world, before the year 1589: He repreſented *Ferrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt* of the *Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He formed one of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was adopted, with Shakſpeare and Heminges, by King James, as one of his theatrical ſervants: He was ranked the *ſixth*, in the royal licenſe of 1603. In 1605, Auguſtine Phillips bequeathed to him, as he did to Shakſpeare, a *thirty ſhillings piece in gould*. In 1606, Cundal ſerved the pariſh office of *ſideſman*, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Before the year 1623, he ceaſed to act; yet, retained his property in the playhouſes. With Heminges he ſhared the honour of the recollection of Shakſpeare, in his will, and of the editorſhip of Shakſpeare's dramas. The country reſidence of Cundal, for ſome years before his death, was Fulham. He died, however, in St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, where he had lived

ed long: And, here he was buried, on the 29th of December 1627. By his will he appointed his wife, Elizabeth, his executrix, and bequeathed much property, together with his ſhares in the Globe, and Blackfriars, theatres, to his children; beſides many legacies of friendſhip, and charity (*k*).

—— WILLIAM

(*k*) The will of Cundal is publiſhed in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 199: And in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 344. John Heminges, and Cuthbert Burbadge, were two of the overſeers of the will of Cundal.

The following table, like the laſt, which was formed from the pariſh-regiſter, will ſhow with more preciſion and accuracy than Mr. Malone has done, the births, and burials, of Henry Cundall's children; and will alſo correct the *inaccuracies* of Mr. Malone, both in the *dates* and perſons:—

Names.	Baptiſms.	Burials.
1 Elizabeth - -	27 February 1595	11 April - 1599
2 Ann - - - -	4 April - 1601	26 July - 1610
3 Richard - - -	18 April - 1602	
4 Elizabeth - -	14 April - 1606	22 April - 1603
5 Elizabeth - -	26 October 1603	
6 Mary - - - -	31 January 1607	
7 Henry - - - -	6 May - 1610	4 March - 1629
8 William - - -	26 May - 1611	
9 Edward - - -	22 Auguſt 1614	23 Auguſt 1614

From the regiſter, it thus appears, that Henry, and Elizabeth, Cundall, had *nine* children, inſtead of *eight*, as ſtated by Mr. Malone; that their ſon, Henry, was born in 1610, inſtead of 1600; and that *five* children ſurvived MR. *Cundall*, as he is diſtinguiſhed in the regiſter, inſtead of *three*, as mentioned by Mr. Malone.—Candour cannnot delight to detect theſe de-

—— WILLIAM SLY. ——

Of this player much leſs is known than of Cundal. Before the year 1589, Sly was an actor; having in that year repreſented *Porrex*, in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinnes*. He was one of the Lord Chamberlain's company; and, being adopted by King James into his theatrical company, was placed the *ſeventh* in the royal licenſe, among the royal players, in 1603. Sly was, in 1604, introduced perſonally with Burbadge, Cundal, and Lowin, in Marſton's *Malecontent*, to act an introductory prologue; which, by ſatirizing, illuſtrates the manners of the age (*l*). He died, ſays the

ficiencies in the diligence of Mr. Malone: And charity would have rather concealed thoſe defects, if criticiſm did not require a ſtrict attention to the intereſts of truth. The dulleſt pen may copy extracts from a pariſh regiſter; but it required the pen of Mr. Malone, to write notes on Shakſpeare! Nevertheleſs, it muſt be recollected, that one of his accuſations againſt the believers is, "that they cannot read old "hand-writing:" Now, their apology is, that they can read ſuch writing, ſo well, as to have been able to correct many of the miſtakes, which he has fallen into, for want of their *ſpectacles*.

(*l*) Enter William Sly; and a Tire-man; following with a ſtool:—

"Tire-man:—Sir, the gentlemen will be angry, if you ſit here.

"Sly:—"Why; we may ſit upon the ſtage, at the pri-

"vate

the hiſtorian of the ſtage, before the year 1612 (*m*). In May 1605, Sly was appointed by Auguſtine Phillips, one of the overſeers of his will. He was himſelf obliged to make a nuncupative will, on the 4th of Auguſt 1608, which was proved on the 24th: He thereby bequeathed "To Jane Browne, the daughter "of Robert Browne, and Siſely, his wife, the "houſe, where he now dwelles to her &c for "ever; to Robert Brown his part of *The Globe*; "to James Saunder fortie pounds; the reſt

> "vate houſe. Thou dos't not take me for a *coun-*
> "*try gentleman*; dos't think, I fear hiſſing? I'll
> "hold my life, thou took'ſt me, for one of the
> "players.
>
> "Tireman:—"No; Sir.
>
> "Sly:—"By God's-ſlid, if you had, I would not have
> "given you *ſix pence* for your ſtool. Let them,
> "that have *ſtale ſuits*, ſit in the galleries. Hiſs at
> "me! He that will be laught out of a tavern,
> "ſhall ſeldom feed well, or be drunk, in good
> "company. Where's Harry Condell, Dick
> "Burbage, and William Sly? Let me ſpeak
> "with ſome of them."

Sly goes on to ſwear moſt irreverently. True, indeed, as Colley Cibber would have apologized; Lowin reproves him, and carries him off the ſtage: But, the ſtatute 3. James i. ch. 21. prevented ſuch apologies, by impoſing proper penalties, on all, who ſhould profanely uſe the name of God, in any play.

(*m*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 205.

"to

" to Sisely Browne; making her his execu-
" trix (*n*)." By a codicil, Sly bequeathed his sword, and hat, to Cuthbert (*o*) Burbaige, and forty shillings to the poor of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Sly lived in Holywell-street, among the other players, and greater personages, who then resided in that quarter, before it became the more frequent resort of meaner men. And, he was buried, in the cemetery of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, as appears by the register, on the 16th of August 1608. William Sly, the next of kin, disputed his will, which

(*n*) Brown, and Saunder, were both players, though they never rose to much distinction. Saunder played *Videna*, the queen, in The *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*, and is confounded with Alexander [Saunders] Cooke, by Mr. Malone, who thus appears not to have known, that *Saunder* was a real actor, and a distinct person.

(*o*) It was not so much the *hat*, as the *feather*, which constituted the value of this legacy; feathers being then much worn, and in great request. Marston, in *The Malecontent*, ridiculed the fashion. When Sly is on the stage, acting the prologue to the Malecontent, he puts his *feather* in his pocket. Burbadge asks him: "Why do you conceal
" your *feather*, Sir? Sly answers him: Why! Do you
" think I'll have jests broken upon me, in the play, to be
" laughed at? This play hath beaten all young gallants
" out of the *feathers*. Blackfriars hath almost spoilt Black-
" friars for *feathers*."—It is to be remarked, that the Blackfriars district was remarkable, in those days, for being inhabited by feather-makers.

bears

bears a very ſuſpicious (*p*) appearance; but, was nevertheleſs eſtabliſhed by the prerogative court, though the teſtator, when he made it, was plainly in the hands of deſigning perſons. The legacy to Cuthbert Burbaige, who was a reſpectable character, and the bequeſt to the poor of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, were mere artifices to cover the odious deſign of impoſing upon weakneſs (*q*).

—— ROBERT ARMIN. ——

My reſearches have not enabled me to add much to the little, which is already known, with regard

" To honeſt gameſome Robert Armin,
" Who tickl'd the ſpleen, like a harmleſs vermin."

He was certainly one of the Lord Chamberlain's players, at the acceſſion of King James, and was received, with greater actors, into the royal company. He was ranked the *eighth*, after Sly, in the King's licenſe of 1603. As a *fellow*, Armin was affectionately remembered by Auguſtine Phillips, in 1605; who left

(*p*) It was executed in the preſence of ſeveral women, who could not ſign their names, as witneſſes.

(*q*) John, the baſtard ſon of William Sly, the player, was buried in the pariſh of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, on the 4th of October 1606, as appears by the regiſter; which ſtates, that John was *baſe*, and the ſon of the *player*.

him

him a legacy of twenty ſhillings. Armin was an author, as well as an actor: He produced, in 1608, *A Neſt of Ninnies ſimply of themſelves, without Compound*; in the ſame year, *Phantaſm the Italian Taylor and his boy*; and, in 1609, a comedy called *The two Maids of Moreclacke*, [Mortlake] whether with any alluſion to the family of Auguſtine Phillips, his fellow, I know not. He was not buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark, as we may infer from the ſilence of the regiſter: Nor, have I been able to diſcover any will of Armin, or adminiſtration to his effects.

—— RICHARD COWLEY ——

Is ſaid to have been an actor of a low claſs; having performed the part of *Verges* in *Much ado about Nothing*: He probably acted ſuch parts, as *gameſome* Armin; ſuch characters, as required dry humour, rather than ſplendid declamation. In 1589, he repreſented the character of *Giraldus* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns*. He was, however, adopted, from the Lord Chamberlain's company, by King James into his, and was ranked the laſt, in the royal licenſe of 1603. He was recognized as *a fellow* by Auguſtine Phillips, in 1605, and diſtinguiſhed as a friend, by

by a legacy of twenty ſhillings. He lived among the other players, and among the faſhionable perſons of that period, in Holywell-ſtreet. "I know not when this actor "died," ſays Mr. Malone, the hiſtorian of the ſtage (*r*). He was buried, ſays the regiſter of the pariſh, in St. Leonard's Shoreditch, on the 13th of March (*s*) $16\frac{1}{17}$, three days before the great Burbadge finiſhed his career, in the ſame cemetery. But, my ſearches in the prerogative-office have not found either his will, or an adminiſtration to his eſtate.

Such were the nine patentees, who were named in King James's licenſe of 1603; and who were, thereby, empowered to ſhow their ſtage plays, to their *beſt commoditie*. The royal licenſe, however, was not only granted to the *nine*, who were ſpecified; but, alſo "to the

(*r*) Shakſ. vol. i. part ii. p. 205.

(*s*) The regiſter calls him Richard Cowley, *player*. His wife Elizabeth was buried, in the ſame cemetery, on the 28th of September 1616. By her he had a ſon, Robert, who was baptized on the 7th of March $159\frac{8}{9}$; a ſon, Cuthbert, on the 8th of May 1597; a ſon, Richard, on the 29th of April 1599, who was buried on the 26th of February $160\frac{0}{1}$; and a daughter, Elizabeth, was baptized, on the 2d of February $160\frac{1}{2}$.

"reſt

" reſt of their *aſſociates*, freely to exerciſe the " faculty of playing (*t*)."

—— ALEXANDER COOKE. ——

It appears that this actor was the *heroine* of the ſtage, even before the year 1589. He acted as a woman in Johnſon's *Sejanus* and in *The Fox:* And, it is thence reaſonably ſup-

(*t*) One of thoſe aſſociates, probably, and one of the actors of Shakſpeare's characters was Richard Scarlet, player, who was buried, ſays the regiſter, in St. Giles's Cripplegate, on the 23d of April 1609: Yet, he is not mentioned by the hiſtorian of our ſtage. Another of thoſe aſſociates was Samuel Gilburne, who is *unknown*, ſays Mr. Malone. [Shakſ. vol. i. part ii. p. 210]. But, we now know that, before May 1605, Samuel Gilburne, had ſerved his apprenticeſhip, as a player, with Auguſtine Phillips, who bequeathed him " fortye ſhillings, and my mouſe-coloured velvit hoſe, and " a white taffety dublet, a black taffety ſute, my purple " cloke, ſword and dagger, and my baſe violl:" And, herein, we may ſee the dreſs, and accompaniments, of Auguſtine Phillips. Chriſtopher Beeſton was alſo an actor at *The Globe*, and the repreſentative of ſome of Shakſpeare's characters. He was the *ſervant* of Auguſtine Phillips, in May 1605, and was deemed worthy of a legacy of thirty ſhillings in gould. He became manager of the Cockpit theatre, in Drury-lane, in the year 1624, and continued in that ſtation till his death, in 1638-9. I have not found his will in the prerogative-office, nor any adminiſtration to his eſtate. He was ſucceeded, as manager of the King and Queen's company in Drury-lane, on the 27th of June 1640, by William D'Avenant, gentleman.

posed, that Cooke represented the lighter females of Shakspeare's dramas. Thus far Mr. Malone. Alexander Cooke was recollected, in 1605, as a fellow by Augustine Phillips, and distinguished as an intimate, by a legacy. He outlived Phillips nine years. On the 3d of January $16\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{7}$, he wrote his will, with his own hand, though he was "sick of body;" appointing his wife his (*u*) executrix, and Heminges, and Cundal, and Caper, his overseers of it: He died, in April 1614; leaving his wife, pregnant; and a son, Francis; and a daughter, Rebecca. I subjoin, in the note, a copy of his will; for it contains some curious particulars (*v*).

—— NICHOLAS

(*u*) The name of his wife is neither mentioned in his will, nor in the probat of it; when she was authorized, by the prerogative-court, to act as executrix.

(*v*) The WILL of ALEXANDER COOKE, extracted from the register of the prerogative-court of Canterbury: It is now printed, as he pointed it himself:

In the Name of the Father the Sonne, and the holy Ghoste I Alexander Cooke, sick of body but in perfect minde, doe with mine owne hand write my last Will and Testament First I bequeathe my Soule into y^e^, hands of God my deer Saviour Jesus Christ who bought it and payd for it deerly wth. his bloud on y^e^. crosse next my body to y^e^. Earthe to be buryed after the maner of Christian buryall Item I do give and bequeath unto my Sonne Francis the Some of Fifty pounds

—— NICHOLAS TOOLEY ——

Was alſo another of the unnamed *aſſociates* of Shakſpeare, Burbadge, and Hemings, at *The Globe*; and was one of the original actors of Shakſpeare's characters: He too repreſented women, as early as 1589, and acted *Rodope* in Tarleton's *Platt of the Seven Deadlie Sinns:* He performed in *The Alchemiſt*, in the year 1610.

pounds to be delivered to him at the Age of One an twenty yeeres Item I doe Give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Some of Fiftye pounds allſo to be delivered to hir at the Age of Seaventeene years or at hir day of Mariage, which it ſhall pleaſe God to bring firſte, which Somes of Money are bothe in One purſe in my Cuberd Item I doe Give and Bequeathe unto the Childe which my Wife now goeth with, the Some of Fiftye pounds allſo, which is in the hand of my fellowes as my ſhare of the ſtock to be delivered if it be a boy, at one and twenty yeres, if a Girle, at Seaventeene, or day of Maryage, as before all whiche Somes of Moneyes, I doe intreate my Maſter Hemings, Mr Cundell, and Mr Frances Caper (for God's cauſe) to take into their hands, and ſee it faſtlye put into Grocers Hall, for the uſe and bringinge up of my poore Orphants Item I doe further give and bequeathe unto my Daughter Rebecca the Windowe cuſhens made of needle worke together withe ye. Window cloathe Court Cuboard Cloathe, and Chimneye Cloathe, being all bordered about with needle worke ſutable, and Greene ſilke fringe If any of my children, dye ere they come to age, my will is yt. the Survivers ſhall have there parte, equallye divided to ye. laſt If all my Children

1610. Thus much from Mr. Malone. Tooley I ſuſpect, from ſome expreſſions in his will, had been the apprentice, or the ſervant, of Richard Burbadge (*w*). Tooley was remembered by Auguſtine Phillips, as a fellow, and diſtinguiſhed, by a legacy. He played his part, as a witneſs, in the laſt ſcene of Richard Burbadge's life, when *the Roſcius* of that age

Children dye ere they come to age, my will is that my Brother Ellis or his Children ſhall have One halfe of all, the other halfe to be thus divided, to my five ſiſters, or theire Children tenn pounds apeece amongſt them, my Brother John's daughter other tenne pounds, y^e^. reſt to my Wife if ſhe live then, if not to Ellis and his, If my brother Ellis dye ere this, and leave no Childe of his body, my will is, it ſhall all be equally diſtributed amongſt my Siſters and the Children of there bodys, only my Wive's parte reſerved if ſhe live: My Wife paying all charges of my buriall performing my Will in every poynte as I have ſet downe my will is ſhe ſhall injoy and be my full and lawfull Executrix All my Goods, Chattels, Movables debbts, or whatſoever is mine in all the worlde /// This is my laſt Will and Teſtament / In Witneſs whereof I have ſet to my hand January the third 1613: By me Allex: Cooke:

[This will was proved on the 4th of May 1614, by the relict, whoſe name, however, is not mentioned in the probat.]

(*w*) Tooley bequeathed legacies to the ſiſter, and daughter, of "my late *Mr.* [Maſter] Burbadge, deceaſed:" And he repeated this form of expreſſion, which ſhows a grateful remembrance of his *old maſter*.

made his will, on the 12th of March $16\frac{18}{19}$. Tooley made his own will, on the 3d of June 1623; appointing Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundal, his executors. He died, ſoon after, in the houſe of Cuthbert Burbadge, in Holywell-ſtreet; to whoſe wife, Elizabeth, the teſtator left a legacy of ten pounds "as a "remembrance of his love, in reſpect of her "motherly care of him." Tooley appears, plainly, to have been a benevolent man. While he buſtled in the world, he did many kind acts: And, when he could no longer act, he left conſiderable legacies to the poor of the two pariſhes of St. Leonard's Shoreditch, and of St. Giles's Cripplegate, which, adminiſter to the comfort of the needy, even to the preſent day. He was buried, as the pariſh regiſter proves, on the 5th of June 1623, in St. Giles's, Cripplegate (*x*).

—— WILLIAM

(*x*) NICHOLAS TOOLEY'S WILL, extracted from the regiſtry of the prerogative court of Canterbury: As it contains ſome unknown particulars of players, it may be regarded as curious:—In the Name of God Amen I Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman being ſicke in body but of perfect mynd and memorie praiſed be God therefore doe make and declare this my laſt Will and Teſtament in forme following that is to ſay Firſt I comend my Soule into the hands of Almightie God the Father truſting and aſſuredlie beleeving

—— WILLIAM KEMPE. ——

This player, who danced through life on *light fantaſtick toe*, is neither mentioned in the licenſe

beleeving that by the meritts of the precious death and paſſion of his only Sonne and my only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt I ſhall obtaine full and free p̄don and forgivenes of all my Sinnes and ſhall enjoy everlaſting life in the Kingdom of Heaven amongſt the elect Children of God My Bodie I committ to the Earth from whence y^t came to be buried in decent manner at the diſcrecon of my Executors hereunder named My Worldlie ſubſtance I doe diſpoſe of as followeth Impris I give unto my good friend M^r. Thomas Adams preacher of God's Word whome I doe entreate to preach my funerall Sermon the Some of tenn pounds Item I doe releaſe and forgive unto my kinſwoman Mary Cobb of London widdowe the Some of Fyve pounds wch ſhe oweth me and I do give unto her the Some of fyve pounds more Item I do releaſe and forgive unto her Sonne Peter Cobb the Some of Sixe pounds wch he oweth me Item I doe give unto her Sonne John Cobb the Some of Sixe pounds Item I do give unto her daughter Margarett Moſeley the Some of Fyve pounds Item I doe give unto M^rs. Burbadge the Wife of my good friend M^r. Cutbert Burbadge (in whoſe houſe I doe nowe lodge) as a remembrance of my love in reſpect of her motherlie care over me the Some of tenn pounds over and beſides ſuch Somes of Money as I ſhall owe unto her att my deceaſe Item I do give unto her daughter Elizabeth Burbadge als Maxey the Some of tenn pounds To be payd unto her owne proper hands therew^th all to buy her ſuch thinges as ſhe ſhall thinke moſt meete to weare in remembrance of me And my

licenſe of 1603, by King James, as one of his ſervants, nor recognized by Auguſtine Phillips,

Will is that an acquittance under her only hand and Seal ſhal be a ſufficient diſcharge in Lawe to my Executors for payment thereof to all intents purpoſes and conſtruccons and as fully as if her pretended huſband ſhould make and ſeale the ſame wth her Item I give to Alice Walker the Siſter of my late Mr. Burbadge deceaſed the Some of tenn pounds to be payd unto her owne proper hands therewth all to buy her ſuch thinges as ſhe ſhall thinke moſt meete to weare in remembrance of me And my will is that an acquittance under her only hand and Seale ſhal be a ſufficient diſcharge in Lawe to my Executors for the payment thereof to all intents purpoſes and conſtructions and as fully as if her huſband ſhould make and ſeale the ſame wth her Item I give unto Sara Burbadge the daughter of my ſaid late Mr. Richard Burbadge deceaſed that Some of twenty and nyne pounds and thirteen ſhillings wch is oweing unto me by Richard Robinſon to be recouved detayned and diſpoſed of by my Executors hereunder named until her marriage or age of twenty and one years (wch ſhall firſt and next happen) wthout any allowaunce to be made of uſe otherwiſe then as they in their diſcrecons ſhall think meete to allow unto her Item I give unto Mrs. Condell the wife of my good friend Mr. Henry Condell as a remembrance of my love the Sum of fyve pounds Item I give unto Elizabeth Condell the daughter of the ſaid Henry Condell the Some of tenn pounds Item whereas I ſtand bound for Joſeph Tayler as his ſurety for payment of Tenn pounds or thereabouts My will is that my Executors ſhall out of my Eſtate pay that debt for him and diſcharge him out of that Bond Item I do releaſe and forgive unto John Underwood and Willm Eccleſtone all ſuch Somes of Money as they do ſeverally owe unto me Item I do give and bequeath for and towards the ppetuall reliefe of

lips, in 1605, as one of his fellows. Kempe is said to have been the successor of Tarleton, who

of the poore people of the parishe of S^t. Leonard in Shoreditche in the County of Midd under the Condicon hereunder expressed the Some of fourscore pounds To remayne as a stocke in the same parish and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed by the advise of the parson Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of the said prishe for the tyme being or the greater nomber of them In such sort as that on everie Sunday after Morninge prayer forever there may out of the encrease wch shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same prishe Thirtie and two penny wheaten loaves for their relefe provided allwaies and my will & mynd is that yf my said gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be pformed in aine wise contrarie to the true meaning of this my Will Then & in such case I give and bequeath the same Legacie of Fourscore pounds for and towards the relefe of the poore people of the prishe of S^t. Gyles w^thout Cripplegate London to be imployed in that prishe in forme aforesaid Item I doe give and bequeath for and towards the ppetuall relefe of the poore people of the said prishe of S^t. Giles without Cripplegate London under the condicon hereunder expressed the Some of twenty pounds To remayne as a stocke in the same prishe and to be from tyme to tyme ymployed by the advise of the Churchwardens Overseers for the poore and Vestrymen of the same prishe for the tyme being or the greater nomber of them in such sort as that on every Sunday after Morninge prayer forever there may be out of the encrease wch shall arrise by the ymployment thereof be distributed amongst the poorer sort of people of the same prishe Eight penny wheaten loaves for their relefe Provided alwaies and my will and mynd is that yf my said Gift shalbe misimployed or neglected to be pformed in anie wise con-

who was buried on the 3d of September 1588, as well " in the favour of her Majesty as in " the

trarie to the true meaninge of this my Will Then and in such case I give and bequeath the same legacie of twenty pounds for and towards the reliefe of the poorer people of the said prisshe of St. Leonard in Shoreditche to be imployed in that prisshe in forme aforesaid Item my will and mynd is and I doe hereby devise & appoynt that all and singuler the legacies bequeathed by this my will (for payment whereof no certaine tyme is otherwise limited) shalbe truly payd by my Executors hereunder named wthin the space of one yeare att the furthest next after my decease All the rest and residue of all and singular my Goods Chattels Leases Money Debtes and psonall Estate whatsoever and wheresoever (my debtes legacies and Funerall charges discharged) I doe fully and wholly give & bequeath unto my afore named loving friends Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell to be equally dyvided betweene them pte and pte like And I doe make name and constitute the said Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Executors of this my last Will and Testament And I doe hereby revoke & make voyd all former Wills Testaments Codicills Legacies Executors and bequests whatsoever by me att any tyme heretofore made named given or appoynted willing and mynding that theis prdts only shall stand and be taken for my last Will and Testament and none other In witness whereof to this my last Will and Testament conteyninge foure Sheets of paper wth my name subscribed to everie sheete I have sett my Seale the third day of June 1623 And in the one and twentith yeare of the Raigne of or. Soveraigne Lord King James &c Nicholas Tooley Signed Sealed pronounced and declared by the said Nicolas Tooley the Testator as his last Will and Testament on the day and yeares above written in the prce of us the mke of Anne Asplin the marke of Mary + Cober,

" the good thoughts of the general audience." His favour with both arose from his power of pleasing.

Cober, the marke of Joane + Booth the mke of Agnes Dowson the mke of E B Elizabeth Bolton the mke of + Faith Kempfall the mke of Isabel Stanley Hum: Dyson notary public and of me Ro: Dickens Srvt. unto the said Notary Memorandum that I Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley of London Gentleman have on the day of the date of theis prets by the name of Nicholas Tooley of London Gentleman made my last Will and Testament in writing conteyninge foure sheetes of paper with my name subscribed to every sheete and sealed with my Seale and thereby have given and bequeathed divers psonall legacies to divers psons and for divers uses and therefore have made named and constituted my lovinge friends Cuthbert Burbadge and Henry Condell the Executors as thereby may more at large appeare nowe for the explacon cleering avoyding & determinacon of all such ambiguities doubtes scruples questions and variances about the validite of my said last Will as may arise happen or be moved after my decease by reason of omission of my name of Wilkinson therein I doe therefore by this my prete Codicil by the name of Nicholas Wilkinson als Tooley ratifie confirme and approve my said last Will and everie gifte legacye and bequest therein expressed and the Executors therein named as fully and amply to all intents purposes and construcons as If I had byn so named in my said last Will any omission of my said name of Wilkinson in my said last Will or any scruple doubt question variance misinterpretacon cavill or misconstruccon whatsoever to be had moved made or inferred thereupon or thereby or any other matter cause or thinge whatsoever to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding And I doe hereby alsoe further declare that my Will mynd and meaning is that this my prdte

pleaſing. As early as 1589, his comic talents appear to have been highly eſtimated by thoſe, who were proper judges, being wits themſelves (*y*). He uſually repreſented *the clowns*, who are always *very rogues*; and, like Tarleton, gained celebrity, by his *extemporal wit*; whilſt, like other clowns, Kempe raiſed many a *roar by making faces, and mouths, of all ſorts* (*z*).

He

Codicil ſhalbe by all Judges Magiſtrates and other p̄ſons in all Courts and other places and to all intents and purpoſes expounded conſtrued deemed reputed and taken to be as pte and pcell of my ſaid laſt Will and Teſtament As witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſett my hand and Seal the thirde day of June 1623 and in the one and twentieth year of the Raigne of O^r Soveraigne Lord King James &c Nicholas Wilkinſon al̄s Tooley (LS) Signed Sealed pronounced & declared by the ſaid Nicholas Wilkinſon al̄s Tooley as a Codicil to be annexed unto his laſt Will and Teſtament on the daye and yeares above written in the preſence of us Semon Drewe the m̄ke of Iſabell I S Stanley the m̄ke of + Faith Kempfull Hum: Dyſon Notary public and of me Ro: Dickens s̄rvant unto the ſaid Notary.—[It was proved in the prerogative court, on the 17th of June 1624, by Cuthbert Burbadge, and Henry Cundal.]

(*y*) The witty Naſhe, ſpeaks of Kempe, in 1589, as the comical and conceited jeſtmonger, and vicegerent general to the ghoſt of Dicke Tarleton. [*An Almond for a Parrot.*]

(*z*) In the Cambrige comedy, called *The Return from Parnaſſus*, Kempe is introduced perſonally, and made to ſay: "I was

He probably performed LAUNCE, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in 1595; the GRAVE-DIGGER, in *Hamlet*, in 1596; LANCELOT, in *The Merchant of Venice*, in 1598; and TOUCHSTONE, in *As you like it*, in 1600: He appears, from the quarto plays of Shakſpeare, to have been the original performer of PETER, in *Romeo* and *Juliet*, in 1595; and of DOGBERRY, in *Much ado about nothing*, in 1600. In the Cambridge comedy, called The *Return from Parnaſſus*, which is ſuppoſed to have been written about the year 1602, Burbadge, and KEMPE, were perſonally introduced, *to entertain the ſcholars at a low rate.* Kempe ſeems to have diſappeared, at the acceſſion of King James, when *his fellows* were riſing to higher honours. Perhaps, as a *vete-*

—"I was once at a Comedy in Cambridge, and there I ſaw "a paraſite *make faces and mouths of all ſorts*, on THIS FA-"SHION."—The Cambridge wit, we ſee conſidered Kemp, as a proper comedian to raiſe laughter by making mouths *on this faſhion.* When Burbage has inſtructed a ſtudent how to act properly, and tells him:—"You will do well after a while;" Kemp takes up the ſtudent thus: "Now for you; methinks "you ſhould belong to *my tuition*; and *your face*, methinks, "would be good for a fooliſh mayor, or *a fooliſh juſtice of* "*peace*: mark *me*."—And then, Kempe goes on, to repreſent a *fooliſh mayor*; making *faces*, for the inſtruction of the ſtudent.

ran,

ran, he had retired from "the loathed ſtage:" Perhaps, as a mortal, the peſtilence of 1603 put an end to Kempe's *nine days wonder*. He was certainly dead, in 1618, when his *epitaph* was publiſhed:—

"Then, all thy triumphs, fraught with ſtrains of mirth,
"Shall be cag'd up within a cheſt of earth;
"Shall be! they are: thou haſt danc'd thee out of breath,
"And now muſt make thy parting dance with death (*a*)."

Before the year 1609, Kempe had vaniſhed from the public eye; as we may infer from *The Gul's Hornbooke*; although not, that he was dead, as Mr. Malone decides from *Gul's* authority: For, Kempe may have only retired from the ſcene. When Auguſtine Phillips, with fond recollection, remembered ſo many of *his fellows*, in May 1605, he did not remember Kempe: Yet, at the ſame hour, Phillips forgot Lowen alſo, who outlived him more than fifty years.—Amidſt ſo much uncertainty, I have aſcertained an important fact, that on the 2d of November 1603, *one* William Kempe was buried, in the cemetery of St. Saviour's, Southwark (*b*). Conſidering every

(*a*) Braithwayte's Remains.

(*b*) The pariſh regiſter merely ſtates:—"1603, November 2d Wiliam Kempe, a *man*." [was buried.] The ſtupidity

every circumſtance, the time, the place, the perſon, the name, the previous probability; I have little doubt, but that William Kempe, the vicegerent of Tarleton, was then *caged up within a cheſt of earth*. I have not found any will of Kempe, nor any adminiſtration to his effects, in the prerogative-office.

Kempe was an author, as well as an actor (*c*): Yet,

pidity of the pariſh clerk has thus left a ſlight doubt, who *this man* was. There were buried in the ſame cemetery, on the 19th of December 1603, Mary Kempe, a *woman*; on the 13th of February 160$\frac{3}{4}$ Cicelye Kempe, a *child*. There appears, however, in the pariſh regiſter of St. Bartholomew, the Leſs, the marriage of William Kempe unto Annis Howard, on the 10th of February 160$\frac{4}{5}$; but, without any further notice of this couple, or their iſſue. On the other hand, none of the pariſh clerks, within the bills of mortality, have found the burial of any other William Kempe, though I offered them a ſuitable reward, for a diligent ſearch. On the whole, it ſeems to me more than probable, that William Kempe, the ſucceſſor of Tarleton, was carried off the ſtage, by the plague of 1603. I have laughed, in a foregoing page, at the deciſion of dogmatiſm on the mere authority of *The Gul's Hornbook*, with regard to the true date of the death of Kempe, which it is ſo difficult to aſcertain; and which, after the moſt active inquiries, cannot be poſitively fixed. It is unneceſſary to add, that if the death of Kempe, in 1603, be admitted, as a fact, any document, which mentions him, as being alive, at a ſubſequent period, muſt be equally acknowledged to be ſpurious.

(*c*) On the 7th of September 1593, there was entered in the

Yet, he was as illiterate, probably, as he was, certainly, jocose. The Cambridge scholars laughed at his gross illiterature. In *The Return from Parnassus* Kempe is made to say to Burbadge: "Few of the university pen plays "well; they smell too much of that writer "*Ovid*, and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and "talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter." *Philomusus* says sneeringly: "Indeed Master "Kempe you are very famous: but, that is as "well for works, in *print*, as *your part in* "*cue*." There was a sentiment then assigned to Kempe, which was known, perhaps, to be his real opinion, that, *it is better to make a fool of the world, as I have done, than like you scholars, to be fooled of the world.* The publication of *The Orchestra* of Davis, and *The Jigg* of Kempe, about the same time, fur-

the Stationers' books, A Comedie entitled "*A Knack how to* "*know a Knave*, newly set forthe as it has been sundrie "times plaied by Ned Allen and his company, with "Kempe's applauded merriment of *The Men of Gotham*."—Kempe's *New Jigg of The Kitchen-stuff woman* was entered in the Stationers' books, in 1595; and also "Kempe's *New* "*Jigg* betwixt a Souldier and a Miser and Sym the "Clowne."—In 1600, there was published "Kempe's *Nine* "*days wonder* performed in a daunce from London to Nor-"wich written by himselfe to satisfie his friends." In those days, the word *jigg* signified a *farce*, as well as a daunce.

nished

niſhed Marſton the ſatiriſt, in 1599, with an opportunity of joining Davis, Kempe, and perhaps Shakſpeare, in the ſame laugh againſt them:—

Prayſe but *Orcheſtra*, and the *ſkipping art*,
You ſhall commaund him; faith, you have his hart,
Even cap'ring in your fiſt. *A hall, a hall*;
Roome for the ſpheres, the orbes celeſtiall
Will daunce *Kempe's Jigg*: They'le *reuel* with neate jumps;
A worthy poet hath put on their pumps (*d*).

Such were the patentees of King James; and ſuch the aſſociates, who were adopted, among the royal ſervants; and though they were not named in the licenſe of 1603, yet were the original actors of Shakſpeare's characters. We have ſeen, upon the acceſſion of King James, *three* companies eſtabliſhed, by collecting the diſcarded ſervants of the

(*d*) *The Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, ſign^r H. 3. b. This is Sir John Davis, the attorney-general of Ireland, who wrote the two celebrated poems, *Noſce Teipſum*; and the *Orcheſtra*, in praiſe of dancing: I obſerve, that Mr. Malone ſometimes confounds Sir John Davis, with Davis, the epigrammatiſt, who was a very different perſon. [Shakſ. vol. i. part ii. p. 63-66.] Sir John Davis is the firſt of our poets, who *reaſoned in rhime*; yet the palm of *logical* poetry has been aſſigned, by Johnſon, to Dryden; though the laureate of James ii. can boaſt of nothing, which is comparable to the *Noſce Teipſum* of Davis, for *concatenation* of *argument*, and ſubtilty of thought.

ſeveral

ſeveral noblemen. At the epoch of Shakſpeare's death, there were, probably, *five* companies of players in London: viz. The King's ſervants, who performed at *The Globe*, and in the Blackfriars; the Queen's ſervants, who acted at *The Red Bull*, and became afterwards diſtinguiſhed as the Children of the Revels; the Prince's ſervants, who played at *The Curtaine*; the Palſgrave's ſervants, who exhibited at *The Fortune*; and the Lady Elizabeth's ſervants, who performed at the Cockpit, in Drury-lane. During the ſame period, there were ſeven regular playhouſes, including three on the *Bankſide*; the *Swan*; the *Roſe*; and *the Hope*; which, however, were not much frequented, and, early in the reign of James, fell into diſuſe: Yet, one Roſſeter obtained a patent, under the great ſeal, for erecting a playhouſe, *without the liberties* of London; and by virtue thereof, proceeded to convert the houſe of Lady Sanclair, on Puddle-wharff, into a theatre. The Lord Mayor and aldermen were alarmed: They conſidered this meaſure, as an infringement of their juriſdiction; and feared the interruption of public worſhip, on *the week days*, from its nearneſs to a church. Theſe conſiderations, upon complaint made to them, induced the privy-council to determine,

mine, that no playhouſe ſhould be erected in that place (*e*). But, it is always more eaſy to reſolve,

(*e*) An order was iſſued to that effect, on the 26th of September 1615, in the following terms:—

"Whereas complaint was made to this board by the "Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, That "one Roſſeter and others having obtained licenſe under the "great ſeal of England for the building of a playhouſe have "pulled down a great meſſuage in Puddle-wharf which was "ſometimes the houſe of Lady Sanclers within the precinct "of the Blackfryers, are now erecting a new play-houſe in "that place, to the great prejudice and inconvenience of "the government of that city. Their Lordſhips thought fit "to ſend for Roſſeter, to bring in his letters patents which "being ſeen and peruſed by the Lord Chief Juſtice of Eng-"land [Coke]. For as much as the inconveniences urged "by the Lord Mayor and aldermen were many and of ſome "conſequence to their government, and ſpecially for that "the ſaid playhouſe would join ſo near unto the church in "Blackfryers as it would diſturb and interrupt the congrega-"tion at divine ſervice upon the week days. And that the Lord "Chief Juſtice *did deliver* to their Lordſhips that the *licenſe* "*granted to the ſaid Roſſeter, did extend to the building of a* "*playhouſe* WITHOUT *the liberties of London*, and not *within* "the city. It was this day ordered by their Lordſhips, that "there ſhall be no playhouſe erected in that place, and that "the Lord Mayor of London ſhall ſtraitly prohibit and for-"bid the ſaid Roſſeter, and the reſt of the patentees, and "their workmen to proceed in the making and converting "the ſaid building into a playhouſe: And if any of the pa-"tentees or their workmen ſhall proceed in their intended "building contrary to this their Lordſhips inhibition, that then "the

reſolve, than to execute. Roſſeter ſeems not to have been terrified by the threats of commitment. Notwithſtanding ſeveral prohibitions, he proceeded, though with ſome interruptions, to execute his purpoſe. New complaints were made; and freſh orders were iſſued. At length, in January 1617, the Lord Mayor was directed to cauſe Roſſeter's playhouſe *to be pulled down* (*f*). Yet, ſuch directions are ſeldom executed, unleſs they be

" the Lord Mayor ſhall commit him or them ſo offending " unto priſon, and certify their Lordſhips of their contempt " in that behalf. Of which, their Lordſhips order the ſaid " Roſſeter and the reſt to take notice and conform them- " ſelves accordingly, as they will anſwer to the contrary at " their peril."

(*f*) A letter was written, by the privy-council, to the Lord Mayor of London, on the 26th January $16\frac{16}{17}$, in the following terms:—

" Whereas his Majeſty is informed that notwithſtand- " ing divers commandments and prohibitions to the con- " trary, there be certain perſons that go about to ſet up " a playhouſe in the *Blackfryars*, near unto his Majeſty's " *Wardrobe*, and for that purpoſe have lately erected and " made fit a building which is almoſt if not fully finiſhed: " You ſhall underſtand that his Majeſty hath this day ex- " preſsly ſignified his pleaſure, that the ſame ſhall be pulled " down; ſo as it be made unfit for any ſuch uſe. Whereof " wee require your Lordſhip to take notice, and to cauſe it " to be performed accordingly with all ſpeed, and thereupon " to certify us of your proceedings."

loudly

loudly called for, by the public voice. At the general *pulling down* of playhouſes, and bear-gardens, in 1648, Major General Skippon was ſent, with a body of horſe, to aſſiſt *the levellers* (*g*).

But, a new power was at hand, which, without direction, or authority, could pull a playhouſe down with *armipotent* ſpeed. "On "Shrove-tueſday, the fourth of March $16\frac{16}{17}$, "ſaith Howes, the *chronicler of the times*, many "diſordered perſons, of ſundry kinds, aſſem-"bled in Finſbury-field, Stepney-field, and "Lincoln's-inn-fields; and in riotous manner "did beat down the walls and windows of "many victualling houſes, which they ſuſ-"pected to be bawdy houſes: and that af-"ternoon they ſpoiled a *new playhouſe*, and "likewiſe did more hurt in other places." It was the playhouſe in Drury-lane, belonging to the Queen's ſervants, which was thus ſpoiled; though the cauſe of this outrage does not appear. *This foul diſorder* was deemed of *dangerous* conſequence. And the privy-council directed the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and the Juſtices of Middleſex, to hold a ſpecial ſeſſions; for inquiring, ſtrictly,

(*g*) Com. Journal, 23d June 1648.

after the offenders, and puniſhing, exemplarily, the guilty (*b*).

Leaving

(*b*) The letter, which was written, on that occaſion, is as follows:

" It is not unknown unto you what tumultuous outrages " were yeſterday committed near unto the city of London " in divers places, by a rowte of lewd and looſe perſons " apprentices and others, eſpecially in Lincoln's-inn fields " and Drury-lane, where, in attempting to pull down a " playhouſe belonging to the Queen's Majeſty's ſervants, " there were divers perſons ſlain and others hurt and wounded, the multitude there aſſembled being to the number of " many thouſands as we are credibly informed. Foraſmuch " as the example of ſo foul and inſolent a diſorder may " prove of dangerous conſequence if this ſhould eſcape without ſharp puniſhment of the principal offenders; Wee do " therefore in his Majeſty's name expreſsly require your " Lordſhip, and the reſt of the commiſſioners of Oyer " and Terminer for the city of London and county of Middleſex, to take it preſently into your care, to have a ſtrict " inquiry made for ſuch as were of the company, as well " apprentices or others, and forthwith to hold a ſpecial Seſſions of Oyer and Terminer for that purpoſe, and there " with ſeverity to proceed againſt ſuch as ſhall be found " offenders as to law and juſtice appertaineth. And for " that it was alſo obſerved that amongſt this crew of apprentices there were an exceeding great multitude of vagrant " rogues gathered together as there are always about this " city ready for any miſchief upon every occaſion a great " diſhonour and ſcandal to the government. Wee are therefore to recommend that alſo unto you from his Majeſty as " a ſpecial charge, that you do think upon ſome courſe, and

" put

Leaving thoſe directions behind him, King James departed for Scotland, on the 14th of March $16\frac{16}{17}$; "taking ſuch recreations by the "way," ſays the malignant Wilſon, "as might "beſt beguile the days, but lengthen the "nights; for what with hawking, hunting, "and horſe-racing the days quickly ran away, "and the nights with feaſting, maſking, and "dancing, were the more extended." Amid *ſik dauncing, and deray*, King James had three plays acted before him, for preventing *hearts diſcontent*, and *ſour affliction* (*i*).

The

"put it in execution preſently for the diſpatching of that "ſort of people and removing of them far from about the "city of London and Weſtminſter and the confines thereof, "eſpecially at this preſent, when his Majeſty and a great "part of his council are to be abſent for ſo long a time. "And as providence and diſcretion doth now needfully re-"quire, ſince this warning is given you, to have at all times "hereafter an eye and watch upon the apprentices likewiſe, "who by this experience and the like where the reins of "liberty are given them, are found apt to run into many "unſufferable inſolencies. Touching all theſe points his "Majeſty will expect a ſtrict and particular account from "you of your duties, whereof wee wiſh you may acquit "yourſelves as becometh you." [The council-regiſter of the 5th of March $16\frac{16}{17}$.]

(*i*) On the 11th of July 1617, there iſſued a warrant for payment to certain players, for three ſtage-plays, that were

The reign of James ſaw the Engliſh ſtage advance to its full maturity, and to the greateſt ſplendour; not indeed in the external form, and ſcenic œconomy, of the ancient, or preſent theatres, but in ingenuity of fable, felicity of dialogue, and ſublimity of ſtile, which then animated the Engliſh dramas: Such were the happy productions of the creative genius of Shakſpeare! When his influence was withdrawn, by his retirement from the theatrick world, the ſtage as rapidly declined, till it was totally ſuppreſſed, by violence, in 1648. Owing to a remarkable coincidence, or ſingular fatality, the ſtage was deprived of its principal pillars, about the ſame period. Alexander Cooke died, in 1614. Shakſpeare ceaſed to write, in 1615. Philip Henſlow, the great patron of poets, and of players, died in 1616. Edward Allen retired, almoſt immediately from the Bankſide to Dulwich. On the 13th of March $16\frac{18}{19}$, Richard Cowley was buried in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. In three days, Richard Burbadge, the *Roſcius* of his time, followed him to the ſame cemetery. Robert Armin departed be-

acted before his Majeſty, in his journey to Scotland, ſuch ſums of money, as is uſual in the like kind.—The *ſuch ſums* were probably £. 10, for each play. [Council-regiſter.]

fore

fore the year 1622. Nicholas Tooley, died in 1623. Heminges, and Cundal, feceded from the ſtage, about the ſame time; ſatiated with praiſe, rather than with profit. There remained, nevertheleſs, ſeveral companies of actors, who can ſcarcely be traced in the obſcure annals of the ſtage, as when little has been done, leſs can be related: And the ſucceſſors of the race of Shakſpeare neither illuminated the ſcene, by their brilliancy of genius, nor ſupported the drama, by their powers of acting.

Such, then, is *the additional Apology*, which the believers beg leave to ſubmit to the equity of this court. It will be eaſily recollected, that they are accuſed of *knowing nothing of the hiſtory of the ſtage*; of *knowing nothing of the hiſtory of Shakſpeare*; of *knowing nothing of old hand-writing*. You *read theſe accuſations, and theſe grievous crimes, committed* by *the ring-leaders*, and *their followers*, in almoſt every page of the *accuſing Inquiry* (*k*). Their apology is, that, after all the labours of their accuſer, they have produced much information about the ſtage, which is as new, as it is important, and *bodies forth things unknown* in the annals of

(*k*) P. p. 352—363-4.

the theatre (*l*). Without arrogating a perfect knowledge of the history of Shakspeare, they have added something to it, which was unknown before; and they have found his brother Edmond at *the Globe*, though he had eluded the searches of Mr. Malone. Without pretending to know the whole science of *old hand-writing*, they have shown sufficient skill, at least in the reading of parish-registers, to correct many mistakes of their accuser, in his assertions, and dates. Here, might the believers *shut up* their apology in *measureless content*: But, as their *grievous crimes* seem to admit of no *shadowy expiations*, in the judgment of their accuser, the believers, with the permission of this court, will advert to other theatrical

(*l*) They refer in general to the many documents, which they have produced from the public archives. The will of Shakspeare has, indeed, been the common property of commentators, since the year 1763. Mr. Malone published the nuncupative will of Richard Burbadge, and the wills of Heminges, Cundal, and Underwood: I have now produced, notwithstanding many warnings, that *no other wills of players*, in Shakspeare's age, could be found, the nuncupative will of Sly, together with the wills of Phillips, Cooke, and Tooley, which are more instructive than those of Heminges, Cundal, and Underwood; and I have moreover given the substance of the wills of Pope, and of Henslow; and by ascertaining many dates, have corrected several errors in Mr. Malone's history of the stage.

trical topicks, which may incite attention, by their newneſs, and repay perſeverance, by their information: They will, therefore, ſubmit to this diſcerning court, as a *ſupplemental Apology*, a dramatical ſubject, which the hiſtorian of the ſtage has ſcarcely touched upon; and, from its novelty, will evince, that *ſelf-ſufficiency* may proceed from *inexperience*, at the end of thirty years ſtudy: It will hence follow, *apologetically*, that,—

"———— Seeing *ignorance* is the curſe of God;
"*Knowledge* muſt be th' wing, whereby we fly to heaven."

—— § X. ——

OF THE MASTER OF THE REVELS.

If we look into the King's houſehold of early times, for the ſuperintendant of the royal paſtimes, we ſhall ſee an officer of high dignity, and extenſive power, who was called, in all formal proceedings, *Camerarius Hoſpitij*, and is named, in the act of precedency, *the King's Chamberlain* (*a*). This great officer, who is called, in modern times, the *Lord* CHAMBERLAIN, had the direction, and controul, of the officers, belonging to the King's chambers, except of thoſe of the bedchamber,

(*a*) 31 Hen. 8. ch. 10.

which belongs, exclusively, to the Groom of the Stole; and of the officers of the King's wardrobe, in all the King's houses: The Lord Chamberlain had also the superintendence, and government, of the King's hunting, and *Revels*; of the *Comedians*, musicians, and other royal servants, appointed either for use, or recreation (*b*): And he was the high superintendent of coronations, funerals, and cavalcades. The Lord Chamberlain was of course, by the original constitution of his office, the real *Master* of the *Revels*; the great director of the sports of the court, by night, as well as of the spo ts of the field, by day. This sovereign jurisdiction, over the pastimes of the court, the Lord Chamberlain continues to enjoy, during the present times; after many changes of fashion, and some revolutions of power.

It was in the capricious reign of Henry 8th, who, in 1543, had prohibited by act of (*c*) parliament religious pastimes, that a cyon, *cleped* the *Master of the Revels*, was first grafted

(*b*) Cowell in Vo.—*Chamberlain*;—Laws of Honour, 334: And see the Household-book of Edward the IVth, "A CHAMBERLAYN *for the King* in household, the grete "officer sitting in the Kinge's chamber."

(*c*) 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1.

into

into the ancient ſtock. When we look into the houſehold eſtabliſhments of prior reigns, we ſee nothing of ſuch an officer. In 1490, there was indeed an *Abbot of Miſrule*, who was ſaid to have well performed his office: But, he ſeems to have been merely a predeceſſor of the *Lord of Paſtimes* of ſubſequent times; a perſonage, who was only appointed for the occaſion, at great feſtivals, to incite mirth, by the effuſions of his wit, and to reſtrain revelry, by the exerciſe of his prudence (*d*). In the eſtabliſhment, which Henry the 8th made of his houſehold, in the 17th of

(*d*) There is a curious paſſage in Stow's London [Strype's edit. 1754, vol. i. p. 304] which gives a particular account of the *Lord of Miſrule*:—

"Firſt—In the Feaſt of Chriſtmas there was, in the "King's Houſe, whereſoever he was lodged, a *Lord of Miſ-* "*rule*, or *Maſter of Merry Diſports*; and the like had ye "in the houſe of every Nobleman of Honour, or good "Worſhip, were he ſpiritual, or Temporal. Among the "which, the Mayor of London, and either of the Sheriffs, "had their ſeveral *Lords of Miſrule*, ever contending with- "out quarrel, or offence, who ſhould make the rareſt paſ- "times to delight the beholders. Theſe Lords beginning "their rule at Alholland Eve, continued the ſame till the "morrow after the Feaſt of the *Purification*, commonly "called *Candlemas* Day: In all which ſpace, there were "fine and ſubtle Diſguiſings, Maſks, and Mummeries, with "playing at Cards for Counters, Nails, and Points, more "for paſtimes, than for gain."

his reign, [1525] and which he afterwards augmented, we ſee not a trace of the *Maſter of the Revels* (*e*). It was in the year 1546, while William Poulet, Lord St. John of Baſing, was Lord Chamberlain, that the office of *Maſter of the Revels* was created. The origin of the word is as uncertain, as the nature of the thing has hitherto been obſcure. "*Revels*," ſays Minſheu, "ſeemeth to be from the French "*Reveiller, excitari* to awaken, or to be raiſed "from ſleep; and ſignifieth, with us, ſports "of dauncing, maſking, comedies, tragedies, "and ſuch like, uſed in the King's houſe, "the houſes of [the inns of] court, or of "other great perſonages (*f*)." Skinner follows the derivation of Minſheu; but Lye derives the word *revel* from the Dutch *raveelen*, to rove about, which is much countenanced, ſays Johnſon, by the old phraſe *ravel-rout*, or

(*e*) See a collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal houſehold, which were printed by the Antiquary Society, in 1790.

(*f*) *Guide to the Tongues*, 1617, in Vo. *Revels*. Minſheu has *to revel*, or riot; *a reveller*, or roiſter; rioter, ſwaggerer, glutton. Skelton has the following lines, which are quoted by Warton, as nervous, and manly:

"*Ryot* and *Revell* be in your Court roules,
"Mayntenaunce and Miſchefe theſe be men of myght,
"Extorcyon of you s counted for a knyght."

tumultuous

tumultuous festivity. The *thing*, and the *word*, were both perfectly known to Shakspeare :—

Sir Andrew says: "I delight in *masks*, and *revels*, sometimes altogether."

Sir Toby asks: "Art thou good at these *kickshaws*, knight (*g*)?

It was in 1546, that Sir Thomas Cawerden, who appears in the household establishments of 1525, as a gentleman of the privy (*h*) chamber, was appointed to the office of *Master of the* (*i*) *Revels*; "*officium magistri* "*jocorum, revelorum, et mascorum*," vulgarly called, says the patent, *revels*, and *masks*. Henry the eighth might have now said:—

"———————— Go Cawerden;
"Stir up the Londinian youth to merriments;
"Awake the pert, and nimble spirit of mirth;
"Turn melancholy forth to funerals:
"*That* pale companion is not for our pomp."

At that epoch, our pastimes were rather joyous, than delicate; our dramas were yet unformed; and our actors were but *children*. Henry the 8th, who thus established a particular officer, as "his usual manager of mirth,"

(*g*) *Kickshaw*, says Johnson, is a corruption of the French quelque chose; something fantastical, or ridiculous.

(*h*) *Household Ordinances*, published in 1790, p. 165, and 169, wherein he is called *Canerden*; so difficult is it, in *old writings*, to distinguish the *n* from the *u*; and in p. 216, he is called *Carden*; so little correspondence was there, in those times, between the spelling, and the pronunciation.

(*i*) Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 62.

had

had the same establishment, as his father had, of players, and (*k*) musicians, who contributed, according to their several faculties, to exhilarate his court,—

> " By pomp, and feast, and *revelry*,
> " With *mask*, and antick pageantry."

The court of Edward the Sixth was too much occupied with religious reform, or ambitious projects, to relish much the captivating pleasures of *antick pageantry*. Yet, during the youthful reign of Edward, there was sometimes, at Christmas, a Lord of Pastimes, and at other times, a Lord of *Misrule*; whose

(*k*) The following establishment, from a document in the *Paper-office*, will enable us to form a judgment of the relative importance of each of the several officers:—

The Master of the Revels - - - - - - £.	10	—	—
The Yeoman of the Revels - - - - - -	9	2	6
8 players of *Interludes* at £. 3. 6. 8. each per annum - - - - - - - -	26	13	4
3 singers at £. 6. 13. 4. each - - -	20	—	—
2 singers at 9. 2. 6. each - - -	18	5	—
2 Harpers, one at 18. 5. —			
the other at 20. — —			
- - - - - -	38	5	—
A bag piper - - - - - - - - - - -	12	3	4
2 flute players—one at £. 30 — —			
the other at - - - 18 5 —			
- - -	48	5	—
A serjeant trumpeter, and 15 other trumpeters at £. 24. 6. 8. each - - - -	413	13	4

duty

duty appears to have been, to *awake the pert, and nimble, ſpirit of mirth*. On the 28th of January $155\frac{2}{3}$, Sir Thomas Cawerden was directed to ſupply William Baldwin, who was the great dramatiſt of that day, and who was appointed "to ſet forth a play, before the "King, upon Candlemas day, at night," with appropriate apparel, and the accuſtomed requiſites. The whole expence of the revels, during the reign of Edward the ſixth, who continued his father's eſtabliſhment of players, amounted yearly to about £. 325 (*l*). It was a period, indeed, when there were ſeldom heard, or ſeen, the

"Unwelcome *revellers* whoſe lawleſs joy
"Pains the ſage ear, and hurts the ſober eye."

During the gloomy reign, which ſucceeded the untimely demiſe of Edward the ſixth, we may eaſily ſuppoſe that, in the abſence of *unwelcome revellers*, the maſter of the revels

(*l*) On the 18th of December 1552, there iſſued a warrant to Sir John [Thomas] Cawerden the Maſter of the Revels for £. 300.—On the 18th of January $155\frac{2}{3}$, there was iſſued to Mr. Carden, [Sir Thomas Cawerden] £. 328. 6. towards the defrayment of charges, due within his office, the 5th year of his Majeſty's reign.—20th January $155\frac{3}{4}$, there iſſued to Sir Thomas Cawerden, for the charges of the Lord of Miſrule, at Chriſtmas laſt, £. 326. [From the Council-reg^{rs}.]

had

had probably little power, and leſs profit. During that unhappy period, the privy council, who engroſſed all power, exerted their unbounded authority, in prohibiting *lewd plays*, and reſtraining irreverent ſports. There were, in thoſe days, no ſettled theatres, while the Queen had an eſtabliſhment of players; and *the ordinary* was *the licenſer of the ſtage:* Yet, in that reign, private gentlemen gave licences to players, in the country, for preventing ſuch players, from being deemed *vagabonds* (*m*). Mary, however, did ſometimes comfort herſelf with the *regall diſport* of maſking: And, on St. Mark's day, in the year 1557, there was preſented before her, by her ſpecial commandment "a *notorious maſke* of Almaynes, "Pilgrymes, and Iriſhemen:"—

"———— What *maſking ſtuff* is here!

"Why; what o'devil's name, Caw'rden, call'ſt thou this(*n*)?"

Sir

(*m*) Lodge's Illuſtrations, vol. i. p. 212.

(*n*) The QUEEN'S *warrant* for delivering to Sir Thomas Cawarden certain neceſſaries, for a maſk. [From the original in Mr. Craven Ord's collection.]

MARYE the *quene*.

Truſtie and welbeloved we grete you well And whereas or welbeloved Sr Thomas Cawerden knight Mr. of or. Revells Tryumphes and Maſkes upon or. ſpeciall comaundemt to him ſignified by our vizchamblain dothe ſhewe and ſet forthe on Saint Markes

Sir Thomas Cawerden, who had the management of this maſk, as maſter of the revels. did not long ſurvive the demiſe of Mary; for he died, in December 1559; and was buried, according to his dying requeſt, in his

Markes daye next comge to o^r. Regall diſport recreacion and comfort a notorious maſke of Almaynes pilgrymes and Iriſhemen w^t their inſidents and accompliſhes accordingly And dothe for that purpoſe lack certayne ſilks to his fantaſie for the better furniture and garniſhinge thereof: our pleaſure is furthw^t. upon the recept of theis o^r. lres ye delyver or cauſe to be delyved more for the ſame of ſuche our ſtuffe remayninge in yor. charge and cuſtodie theis pcells underwritten vidz of Redde velvett twentyfyve yds / of Carnacion velvet fieftene yds / of purple gold ſarcenet nyne yds di di q^r. / [half and half quarter] of yellow ſarcenet twenty ſix yds di di q^r. of Redde ſarcenet fortye nyne yds di / of whight ſarcenet thirtie three yds di di q^r. / and of clothe of ſilver w^t workes fower yds / And his hand teſtifeng the recept of theis pcells before written w^t. this o^r. warrant ſigned ſhalbe to you a ſufficient diſcharge in that behalfe / Yeoven under o^r ſignet at o^r palayce of Weſtm^r. the laſt of Aprill in the thirde and fourthe yeres of o^r. Reignes /

Thies pcells above written ar receved the day above written by me Sr Thoms Cawerden knight M^r of the Kinge and quene their Mat^s Tryumphes Maſks and Revells to the uſe abeſaid / } To o^r. Right truſtie and welbeloved Counſailo^r Sr Edward Walgrave knight and M^r. of o^r great Wardrobe or to his Deputie or Deputies thear /

By me
Th Cawerden

pariſh

pariſh church of Blechingley (*o*). Meantime, the acceſſion of Elizabeth gave freſh vivacity to paſtimes. Lord Howard of Effingham was then Lord Chamberlain, though he ſeems to have neither reviewed plays, nor licenſed players. Sir Thomas Benger was appointed Maſter of the Revels, in the room of Cawerden, on the 18th of January 1559-60 (*p*). Yet, he was not the firſt Maſter of the Revels,

(*o*) His will was proved in the prerogative office, before Dr. Walter Haddon, on the 29th of December, 1559, by Elizabeth, his widow, and William Moore, an executor. He died ſeiſed of the manor of Wyllye, in the ſame county: and being *Maſter of the Tents* he bequeathed "to Richard Leigh "of Black*friers* London, all the ſtuff and lumber, belonging "to the *Office of the Tents*, in the Black*fryers*:" So little attention was there then paid to preciſion of ſpelling, that Sir Thomas was ſometimes called *Garden*, and in the ſubſequent patent to Benger, *Carwerden*.—Aubrey, in his Survey of Surrey, vol. iii. p. 74, ſays, that in the chancel of Blechingly church there ſtood a handſome free ſtone monument, ſupported by Ionic pillars *ſaid* to belong to Sir Thomas Carwerden, Knt who was *bow-bender* to Henry viii, but that no inſcription remained.

(*p*) Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 565: Mr. Malone calls him Thomas Benger; forgetting, that he was a knight; and dates his patent on the 18th of January 1560-61; not adverting that Rymer ſays it iſſued in the ſecond year of Elizabeth. He was, in 1553, the ſecond day after the coronation of Mary, made a Knight of the Carpet, by the name of Sir Thomas Berenger. [Strype's Mem. vol. ii. apx. ii.]

during

during Elizabeth's reign, as Mr. Malone (*q*) aſſerts; for Cawerden lived till December 1559. When the Earl of Leiceſter obtained the firſt general licenſe for his theatrical ſervants to act ſtage-plays, in any part of England, there was added this proviſo, "that the "ſaid commedies, tragedies, enterludes, and "ſtage-plays be, by the *Maſter of our Revels*, "for the time being, firſt ſeen and allow-"ed (*r*)." This circumſpect clauſe, which does honour to the prudence of Elizabeth, ſeems never to have been copied by any of her ſucceſſors, when ſuch circumſpection had become much more neceſſary, from the progreſs of *revel-rout*. The Maſter of the Revels had, before this epoch, authority over the paſtimes of the court: He was now, for the firſt time, inveſted with authority over the paſtimes of the country. While the dramas of the court were ſtill inelegant; while few plays were yet produced; while the gentlemen of Greys-inn, and the Children of St. Paul's, were the moſt frequent actors before the Queen; the office of Maſter of the Revels could not be either important, or profitable.

(*q*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 45.

(*r*) This licenſe may be ſeen in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 156.

Sir Thomas Benger lived to see the eſtabliſhment of two regular theatres, about the year 1570; and to obſerve the introduction of Italian players into London; but he lived not to behold the brilliant ſun of Shakſpeare, which was deſtined to illumine England, ſoon after *his eye did homage otherwhere.* Sir Thomas died in March (*s*) 1577; leaving, as he confeſſes, in his will, *many debts*, with *very few goods* to pay them.

Edmond Tilney, the ſon of Philip Tilney, Gentleman Uſher of the privy chamber, to Henry the Eighth, was appointed Maſter of the Revels, in the room of Sir Thomas Benger, on the 24th of July, 1579 (*t*). Thomas Ratcliff,

(*s*) His will was proved in the prerogative-office, on the 27th of March 1577, by Thomas Fugal, his chaplain, and executor. Sir Thomas Benger had, with the office of the Revels, a grant of *fines* on *alienations*, which, as he complained, did not add much to his conſequence, or his wealth.

(*t*) Mal. Shak. part ii. p. 45.—Philip Tilney was the ſon of Sir Philip Tilney of Shelley Hall, who was treaſurer to the army, which invaded Scotland under the Earl of Surrey, in the 5th of Henry VIIIth, by Joane Tey, his ſecond wife. The eldeſt ſon of Sir Philip, by Margaret Breuſe, his firſt wife, was Thomas Tilney of Shelley Hall, who, marrying Margaret Barret, had Frederick Tilney of Shelley Hall, that married Margaret Bucke, the aunt of Sir George Bucke. —Agnes, the ſiſter of Sir Philip Tilney, married Thomas Howard,

Ratcliff, Earl of Suſſex, was then Lord Chamberlain. During the long rule of Tilney, the privy council exerciſed, as we have ſeen, an authority, legiſlative, and executive, over the dramatic world. The privy council opened, and ſhut, playhouſes; gave, and recalled, licenſes; appointed the proper ſeaſons, when plays ought to be preſented, or withheld; and regulated the conduct of the Lord Mayor of London, and the Vice-chancellors of Oxford, and Cambridge, with regard to plays, and players. The privy council gave Tilney, in 1589, two coadjutors, a ſtateſman, and a divine, to aſſiſt him, in reforming "Comedyes "and Tragedyes (*u*)."

Among

Howard, the Duke of Norfolk.—There was alſo another Dutcheſs of Norfolk of the Tilney family, namely; Elizabeth, the only daughter, and heireſs, of Sir Frederick Tilney of Boſton, in the county of Lincoln:—From this Dutcheſs, the preſent Duke of Norfolk is deſcended; from the former, the Effingham branch is ſprung.

(*u*) The following letters from the Lords of the privy council, which were copied from the council-regiſters, eſtabliſh a moſt curious fact, at the very moment, that Shakſpeare's dramas were about to appear:

A letter to the Lord Archb: of Canterbury: "That whereas "there hathe growne ſome inconvenience by comon playes "and enterludes in and about the cyttie of London, in [as "much as] the players take uppon [them] to handle in their

Among other revolutions of the ſtage, Tilney, who was an obſervant officer, and a ſplendid

" plaies certen matters of Divinytie and of State unfitt to be " ſuffered: For redreſſe whereof their Ldhps have thought " good to appointe ſome p̄ſones of Judgment and underſtand- " ing to viewe and examine their playes before they be p̄mit- " ted to pſent them publickly, His Ldſp is deſired that " ſome fytt pſone well learned in Divinity be appointed by " him to *joyne wth the Mr. of the Revelles*, and one othr. " to be nominated by the L: Maior. and they joyntly wth. " ſome ſpede to viewe and conſider of ſuch Comedyes and " Tragedies as are and ſhall be publickly played by the " Companies of players in and about the Cittie of London, " and they to geve allowance of ſuche as they ſhall think " meete to be played and to forbyd the reſt." Dated the 12th of November, 1589.

A letter on the ſame day to the Lord Mayor. of London: " That whereas their L̄dſhps have already ſignifyed unto " him to appoint a ſufficient p̄ſone learned and of Judge- " ment for the Cittie of London to joyne wth. the Mr. of the " Revelles and with a Divine to be nominated by the L: " Archb: of Cant: for the reforminge of the plaies daylie " exercyſed and p̄ſented publickly in and about the Cittie of " London, wherein the players take upon them wth.out " Judgment or Decoru. to handle matters of Divinitie and " State. He is required if he have not as yet made choice " of ſuche a p̄ſone, that he will ſoe do forthwith, and thereof " geve knowledge to the L: Archb: and the Mr. of the Re- " velles, that they may all meet accordingly."

A L̄re on the ſame day to the Mar. of the Revells; " requiring him wth. two othrs. the one to be appointed by the " L: Archb: of Canterb: and the othr. by the L: Maior. of " London, to be men of learning and Judgment, and to call

" before

ſplendid man, had the happineſs to behold the riſing ſun of Shakſpeare, and to ſee it blaze out with meridian brightneſs, but ſaw not its ſetting beams. He had the ſatisfaction, however, of licenſing thirty of Shakſpeare's dramas; beginning with *Henry vi*, in 1590, or 1591, and ending with *Anthony and Cleopatra*, in 1608. While dramatiſts increaſed, Tilney aſſiſted, in 1600, to regulate the ſtage, and to reſtrain the number of playhouſes. He ſaw the players raiſed to new honours, at the commencement of a new reign; but to increaſe in licentiouſneſs, as they roſe in privileges. He died, in October (*v*) 1610, at Leatherhead, in Surrey,

" before them the ſeveral companies of players (whoſe ſervaunts ſoever they be) and to require them by authorytie " hereof to deliver unto them their books that they may " conſider of the matters of their Comedyes and Tragedyes, " and thereuppon to ſtryke out or reforme ſuche pte and " matters as they ſhall fynd unfytt and undecent to be " handled in plaies, bothe for Divinitie and State, comanding " the ſaid Companies of players in her Mats. name, that they " forbear to preſent any play publickly any Comedy or " Tragedy other then ſuche as they three ſhall have ſeene " and allowed, wch. if they ſhall not obſerve, they ſhall lett " them knowe from their Lshps, that they ſhalbe not onely " ſevearly puniſhed but made [in] capable of the exerciſe " of their profeſſion for ever hereafter."

(*v*) His will was proved in the prerogative-office, by

Surrey, where his father had died before him; and was buried on the 6th of October, by his own directions, in the church of Streatham. Sir George Buck asserted, after the death of his kinsman, that Edmond Tilney enjoyed, thirty-five pounds, yearly, for a house, as Master of the Revels, and a hundred pounds a year, for a *better* recompence (*w*).

Thomas Tilney, one of his executors, on the 17th of October 1610. The testator regrets, in his will, "that he had "spent too much on fine cloathes;" but, as an atonement, he bequeathed many charities: And, he ordered a monument to be erected for himself and his father. The inscription records, as the last tribute to vanity, his alliance with Howard, the Duke of Norfolk. [Lyson's Environs of London, vol. ii. p. 485-8.] Stow speaks of *one Mr. Tilney*, without adverting that he was the Master of the Revels, who procured an order from the Lord Treasurer to prevent the players of the Lord Admiral, and Lord Strange, from acting in the city; "conceiving an utter dislike to them." [Strype's edit. 1754, vol. ii. p. 331.] We see here only a glimpse of the truth; and, indeed, we have nothing, with regard to the stage, in Stow with the supplement of Strype, but mere *snatches of light*, when we look for scenic history.

(*w*) As appears by a *document in the paper-office*. This assertion of Sir George Buck is confirmed, by what Mr. Malone found at the Exchequer, that there was paid, in 1611, to Edmond Tilney's executor, £. 120. 18. 3, as the arrears, due, to him, at his death. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 45.]

Notwithstanding

Notwithſtanding all the reſtraints of previous reviſal, and of ſubſequent reprehenſion, the comedians conducted their theatrical repreſentations, like men, who regard profit, rather than propriety. In December 1604, the King's players brought upon the ſtage the *Tragedy of Gowry*; introducing the real *actors*, which was attended "with exceeding con-"courſe of all ſorts of people;" and which was followed by the diſpleaſure of "ſome "great counſellors (*x*)." From exhibiting recent tranſactions, the comedians went on to repreſent on the ſtage "the whole of the "preſent time (*y*): But, though the players *be the brief chronicles of the time*, they ought to exhibit the paſt, with only a reflective glance upon the preſent ſcene.

Before the demiſe of Elizabeth, the office of the Revels, owing to its greater importance, and *better recompence*, had become an object

(*x*) Winwood's Mem. vol. ii. p. 41:—Chamberlaine's letter to Winwood, dated the 18th of December 1604.

(*y*) The players, ſaid Calvert to Winwood, on the 28th of March 1605, do not "forbear to preſent upon their "ſtage the whole courſe of this preſent time, not ſparing "either the King, ſtate, or religion, in ſo great abſurdity, "and with ſuch liberty, that one would be afraid to hear "them." [Winwood's Mem. vol. ii. p. 64.]

of desire to several competitors. John Lylly, the dramatist, had solicited for a reversionary grant of it, though without success; because he was opposed by *all the Howards*. George Buck, however, obtained a reversionary patent for the office of Master of the Revels, on the 23d of June 1603; and soon after this favour, King James *gently laid knighthood on his shoulder*. Our biographers have raised, rather than gratified, curiosity, in respect to Sir George Bucke. He was born at Ely, the eldest son of Robert (z) Bucke, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter Lee of Brandon-ferry; the grandson of Robert Bucke, and Jane, the daughter of Clement Higham; the great grandson of Sir John Bucke, who, having helped Richard to a horse, on Bosworth-field, was attainted for his zeal. Sir George Bucke was, at the epoch of that grant, appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber; while Thomas Howard, the Earl of Suffolk, was Lord Chamberlain. The death of Edmond Tilney put Sir

(z) When Robert Bucke gave his pedigree to the heralds, who visited Cambridgeshire, in 1575, he called himself *Bucke*; yet his son George spelt his name *Buc*; so little attention was there then paid to systematic accuracy. Will our biographers never form a league of amity with our heralds, which would be so useful, in promoting biographical knowledge!

George

George in poſſeſſion of this envied office, though he probably acted in it a twelvemonth before his deceaſe, But, ſuch is life, that its ſweeteſt enjoyments, are not to be long poſſeſſed, without ſome mixture of bitterneſs. The houſe of St. John's, which belonged to the office of the Revels, was ſoon after granted, by an eaſy monarch, to Lord Aubeny, an importunate favourite (*a*). Sir George Bucke ſolicited, and obtained, from the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury, thirty pounds a year, till another houſe ſhould be aſſigned to him for the accommodation of his office (*b*). In addition to

(*a*) Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, ſign. E. 1. relates, "that when Edward, the fourth, would ſhow himſelf in publick ſtate to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at St. Johnes, where he was accuſtomed to ſee the citty actors; and ſince then, by the princes free gift, hath belonged to the office of the Revels, where our court playes have beene in late daies yearely reherſed, perfected, and corrected, before they came to the publicke view of the prince, and the nobility."—It was this palace, or rather ſome apartments in it, which had been aſſigned to the Maſter of the Revels, for his office; and which were now given away to another.

(*b*) Amidſt the penury of information, with regard to the office of the Revels, I ſubmit to the reader, a repreſentation of Sir George Buc, to the Lord Treaſurer; and the order thereon, by the Earl of Saliſbury and Sir Julius Cæſar, the Chancellor

to this accommodation, his office, probably, produced him about a hundred pounds a year.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, which were found in the paper-office; and which will throw a little light on this obscure subject:—

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Salisbury, L: High Treasurer of England, &c.

Most humbly I pray your Lordship to have favourable consideration of the rating of an annual allowance for me, and for rooms for the office for these few just, and honourable, considerations, and reasons:—

1. Imprimis—For the more honourable accommodating of his Majesty's office of the Revels, and for the better means of service to be done to his Majesty therein.
2. Item—In regard of the excessive dear rate of houses now to be hired, fit for such purposes and services.
3. Item—In consideration that the house granted to me by the King's letters patents is worth with the appurtenances & ann. £. 50.
4. Item—In consideration that the Lord of Suff: [olk] Lord Chamberlain *hath enjoined me to provide fit rooms for the office* / and whereunto were assigned and large rooms in St Jones [St Johns]; and which I have accordingly performed.
5. Item—In consideration that the late Master of the Revels had allowance of £. 35. & *ann.* for these purposes, *besides* £. 100. for a better recompence, &c.
6. Item—In consideration that the yeomen and other inferior officers have allowance of £. 15. & ann. for their houses; after which rate proportionably the Master is to have treble, &c. (at the least) double allowance according to the honourable custom in like cases &c:

G. Buc.

After

year (*c*). Sir George Bucke had the honour to licenſe Timon of Athens, in 1609; Corio-

After our hearty commendations: Whereas Sir George Buck Knight Maſter of his Majeſty's Revels is by his letters patentes under the greate ſeale of England, to have ſuch a houſe and lodginges as annciently belonged unto his place. And whereas by his Majeſty's gifte of the houſe of S^t. John's to the Lord Obigney, he hathe been diſpoſſeſſed of the houſe and lodginges formerly appointed to his office, and by means thereof forced to provide himſelf of another for a yearly rent, until ſome other place ſhalbe aſſigned unto him for that purpoſe, and thereupon he hath been a ſuito^r unto us for ſome allowance, in regard of his ſaid houſe and lodginges as we in our diſcretions ſhould think meete and convenient for him.—Theis are therefore to will and require you to allowe unto him the ſum of thirtie pounds by the yere in his accompte to be yerely paſſed before yo^w. in reſpect of his ſaid houſe and lodginges ſo taken for him as aforeſaid by his Majeſty's ſaid graunt to the Lo: Obigney, and according to the ſame rates of £. 30, by the yere unto him, to make allowance of two whole years ended at the feaſt of All Saints laſt paſt. And the ſame to continue hereafter yerely until he ſhall be otherwiſe provided for by his Highneſs—And this ſhalbe your warrant and diſcharge in that behaulfe.—From Whitehall the laſt of Maye 1611.—Your loving frindes. R. SALISBURY.—JUL. CÆSAR.

(*c*) In 1612, the office of the Revels was on St. Peter's hill, whence he dedicated his treatiſe on the *third Univerſity* to Sir Edward Coke. [See Howe's Chron. p. 1061.] On the 13th of June 1613, a commiſſion iſſued to Sir George Buck "to take up as many paynters, embroiderers, taylors, "&c. as he ſhall think neceſſary for the office of the Revels." [Lyſon's Environs, vol. i. p. 92.]

Ianus,

lanus, in 1610; Othello, in 1611; the Tempeſt, in 1612; and Twelfth Night, in 1614, which he ſaw in the manuſcript, *without a blot*, and "abſolute in their numbers, as Shakſpeare "conceived them." This honour, however, he did not enjoy, without the reprehenſion of his (*d*) ſuperiors, and the envy of his equals. Mean time, Sir John Aſtley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels, on the 3d of April 1612. Benjamin Johnſon obtained a ſimilar grant, on the 5th of October 1621: Yet, this was not old Ben, as it ſeemeth, who died in 1637, but young Ben, who died in (*e*) 1635; and who was thus tantalized

(*d*) As a proof, is ſubmitted the following letter "to Sir "George Buck, knight, Maſter of the Revels," from the Lords of the privy-council:—

"We are informed, that there are certain players, or "comedians, we know not of what company, that go "about to play ſome interlude, concerning the late Marquis "D'Ancre, which, for many reſpects, we think not fit to "be ſuffered: We do therefore require you, upon your "peril, to take order, that the ſame be not repreſented, "or played, in any place about this city, or elſewhere, "where you have authority. And hereof have you a ſpecial "care.—And ſo &c.—Dated, the 22d of June 1617."

(*e*) Steeven's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 311: and Mal. Shak. part ii. p. 45, wherein it is miſtakingly ſaid, that Ben Johnſon,

lized with profit, and with pleasure, which he was never to obtain. The bad health of Sir George Bucke induced him to resign his office to Sir John Astley, in 1621, for a valuable consideration, no doubt; and he died on the 22d of (*f*) September 1623, seven years after the swan of Avon had ceased to sing; and the same year, in which Shakspeare's *Comedies*, *Histories*, and *Tragedies*, were published by Heminge, and Condell.

While the *Britannia* endures, Sir George Bucke will be remembered, as the friend of Camden; who is studious to avow the assistance, which he had received from him; and who praises Sir George, as "a man well learned, and "well read." Howes, also, acknowledges, how much he had been obliged to Sir George, for particular help, in compiling his Chronicle. Among other disquisitions, Sir George Bucke

son, the poet, obtained the reversionary grant, in 1621. Dekker, in his *Satiromastix*, sneers at Johnson, by making Sir Vaughan say: "I have some cossen-germans at court "shall beget you the *reversion* of the *Master* of the King's "*Revels*, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christ-"mas." [Wart. Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 393; and Hawk. Old Plays, vol. iii. p. 156.]

(*f*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 157: My researches have not enabled me to find the will of Sir George Bucke, nor to discover any administration to his estate.

wrote a treatiſe—" of *Poets* and *Muſicians*," which recent Inquirers have not been able to find. He wrote alſo a tract on the *third Univerſity of England*, which he dedicated to Sir Edward Coke; and which was publiſhed by Howes, in 1631, as a ſupplement to his Chronicle; in order to ſhow how much was taught in London. In this work, Sir George treated " of the *Art* of *Revels*," which, he ſays, " re-" quireth knowledge in grammar, rhetorick, " logick, philoſophie, hiſtory, muſic, mathe-" maticks, and knowledge in other arts (*g*)." On this intereſting ſubject, he compoſed a particular treatiſe, which unhappily has not yet, by any diligence, been found. But, he did not write, as it ſeems, " the celebrated " Hiſtory of Richard the 3d," which is ſaid to have been written, after his death, by George Bucke, his ſon (*h*).

Sir

(*g*) Sir George Bucke deſcribes the arms of the office of the Revels, as follows; though no grant of them by the College of Arms can now be found:—" Gules, a croſs " argent; and in the firſt corner of the ſcutcheon a Mer-" curies *petaſus* argent; and a lyon gules in chief or." See the *title-page* of this *Apology*.

(*h*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 47. Among the contemporary wits, George Bucke prefixed to Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, when they were publiſhed in 1647, ſome verſes

Sir George Bucke was ſucceeded, as Maſter of the Revels, by Sir John Aſtley, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber. However ambitious of the honours of the office, or deſirous of its profits, he appears to have been little ſolicitous, about the performance of its duties. In Auguſt 1623, he appointed Sir Henry Herbert, one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber, his deputy; induced, partly by a valuable (*i*) conſideration, although perhaps as much by the influence of Philip, Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, who recognized Sir Henry, as his kinſman; and partly by the intereſt of George Herbert, the cele-

verſes "To the deſert of the author [Fletcher], in his moſt "ingenious pieces:"—

"Let *Shakſpeare*, Chapman, and applauded Ben,
"Wear the eternal merit of their pen;
"Here, I am love-ſick; and were I to chuſe
"A miſtreſs Corrival, 'tis Fletcher's muſe."

This preference of Fletcher's muſe of flippancy to Shakſpeare's muſe *of fire* was common to the wits of that age.

(*i*) Sir Henry ſays in his repreſentation to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chamberlain, dated the 11th of July, 1662, "that he had purchaſed Sir John Aſtley's intereſt in the ſaid "office; and obtained of the late King's bounty a grant "under the great ſeal of England for two lives." [Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 418.] The alluſion here was probably to the reverſionary grant, dated the 12th of Auguſt 1629, to himſelf, and Simon Thelwall.

brated

brated orator of Cambridge Univerſity, who had familiar intercourſe with King James. Yet, Sir John Aſtley continued in the office, though he did not officiate, till his death, in January, 1639-40: and when he made his will, his *pride of power* induced a vain man to call himſelf, in his *teſtament, the Maſter of the Revels* (*k*).

Mean while, in Auguſt 1623, Sir Henry Herbert was received, as *Maſter of the Revels*, by his Majeſty at Wilton; and together with the Lord Chamberlain, and the privy-council, he ſoon after incurred the King's diſpleaſure, for allowing the Spaniſh court to be brought upon the ſtage (*l*). In order to make *ſurety* more

(*k*) Mr. Malone ſays, Sir John Aſtley calls himſelf *the Maſter of the Revels*, in the *probate* of his will, in the prerogative-office. [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 46.] The probat always follows the deceaſe of the teſtator. The will was dated the 3d of January, and was proved on the 10th of February 1639-40, by William Harriſon his executor, who ſays not, that the teſtator had been Maſter of the Revels. Sir John Aſtley was of Maidſtone, in Kent, and was the couſin of Sir Jacob Aſtley, who is remembered in hiſtory, for his actions in the field.

(*l*) The ſubjoined letters will clearly explain that tranſaction, which is remarkable both in the political, and the theatrical, worlds:—

Mr.

more *ſecure*, Sir Henry obtained, on the 12th Auguſt,

Mr. Secretary Conway's letter to the privy-council:—

" May it pleaſe your Lordſhips; — His Majeſty " hath received information from the Spaniſh Am- " baſſador of a very ſcandalous comedy acted publickly " by the King's players, wherein they take the bold- " neſs, and preſumption, in a rude, and diſhonourable, " faſhion, to repreſent, on the ſtage, the perſons of his Ma- " jeſty, the King of Spain, the Conde de Gondomar, the " Biſhop of Spalato &c. His Majeſty remembers well, " there was a commandment, and reſtraint, given againſt " the repreſenting of any modern Chriſtian Kings in thoſe " ſtage plays; and wonders much both at the boldneſs now " taken by that company, and alſo that it hath been per- " mitted to be ſo acted, and that the firſt notice thereof " ſhould be brought to him by a foreign ambaſſador, while " ſo many miniſters of his own are thereabouts, and cannot " but have heard of it. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, that your " Lordſhips preſently call before you, as well the poet that " made the comedy, as the comedians that acted it: And " upon examination of them, to committ them, or ſuch of " them, as you ſhall find moſt faulty, unto priſon, if you " find cauſe, or otherwiſe take ſecurity for their forthcom- " ing; and then certify his Majeſty, what you find that co- " medy to be, in what points it is moſt offenſive, by whom " it was made, by whom licenſed, and what courſe you " think fitteſt to be held for the examplary, and ſevere pu- " niſhment of the preſent offenders, and to reſtrain ſuch in- " ſolent, and licentious, preſumption, for the future.—This " is the charge I have received from his Majeſty, and with " it I make bold to offer to your Lordſhips the humble ſer- " vice of &c.—From Rufford, Auguſt 12th; 1624."

Auguſt, 1629, for himſelf, and Simon Thelwall,

The anſwer to Mr. Secretary Conway from the privy-council :—

" After our hearty commendations &c.—According to " his Majeſty's pleaſure ſignified to this board by your letter " of the 12th. Auguſt, touching the ſuppreſſing of a ſcanda- " lous comedy acted by The King's players, we have called " before us ſome of the principal actors, and demanded of " them by what licenſe and authority they have preſumed to " act the ſame; in anſwer whereto they produced a book " being an original and perfect copy thereof (as they af- " firmed) ſeen and allowed by Sir Henry Herbert Knt. " Maſter of the Revells, under his own hand, and ſubſcribed, " in the laſt page of the ſaid book: We demanding further, " whether there were not other parts or paſſages repreſented " on the ſtage, than thoſe expreſsly contained in the book, " they confidently proteſted, they added, or varied, from the " ſame, nothing at all.—The poet, they tell us, is one Mid- " dleton, who ſhifting out of the way, and not attending the " board with the reſt, as was expected; we have given " warrant to a meſſenger for the apprehending of him.— " To thoſe that were before us, we gave a ſound, and ſharp, " reproof, making them ſenſible of his Majeſty's high diſ- " pleaſure herein, giving them ſtraight charge, and com- " mands, that they preſumed not to act the ſaid comedy any " more, nor that they ſuffered any play or interlude what- " ſoever to be acted by them, or any of their company until " his Majeſty's pleaſure be further known. We have cauſed " them likewiſe to enter into bond for their attendance upon " the board whenſoever they ſhall be called. As for our " certifying to his Majeſty (as was intimated by your letter) " what paſſages in the ſaid comedy we ſhould find to be " offenſive and ſcandalous; We have thought it our duties

" for

wall, a reverſionary grant of the office, which was to commence at the deaths, or reſignation of

" for his Majeſty's clearer information, to ſend herewithall " the book itſelf, ſubſcribed as aforeſaid by the Maſter of " the Revells, that ſo either yourſelf, or ſome other, whom " his Majeſty ſhall appoint to peruſe the ſame, may ſee the " paſſages themſelves out of the original, and call Sir Henry " Herbert before you, to know a reaſon of his licenſing " thereof (who as we are given to underſtand) is now at- " tending at court; So having done as much, as we con- " ceived agreable with our duties in conformity to his Ma- " jeſty's royal commandments, and that which we hope " ſhall give him full ſatisfaction; we ſhall continue our hum- " ble prayers to Almighty God for his health and ſafety— " and bid you very heartily farewell." [Dated the 21ſt of Auguſt 1624.]

Mr. Secretary Conway's reply to the privy-council:

" Right Honourable;— His Majeſty having received ſa- " tisfaction in your Lordſhips endeavours, and in the ſigni- " fication thereof to him by your's of the 21st of this pre- " ſent, hath commanded me to ſignify the ſame to you. " And to add further, that his pleaſure is, that your Lord- " ſhips examine, by whoſe direction, and application, the " perſonating of Gondomar, and others was done; and that " being found out, the party, or parties to be ſeverely pu- " niſhed. His Majeſty being unwilling for one's ſake, and " only fault, to puniſh the innocent, or utterly to ruin the " company. The diſcovery on what party, his Majeſty's juſ- " tice is properly, and duly, to fall, and your execution of it, " and the account to be returned thereof, his Majeſty leaves " to your Lordſhips wiſdoms, and care. And this being " that I have in charge, continuing the humble offer of my

of Sir John Aſtley, and Benjamin Johnſon. This place, ſays Iſaac (*m*) Walton, required

" ſervice and duty to the attendance of your command-
" ments &c.—From Woodſtock, the 27th. Auguſt 1624."

N. B. There is indorſed on Mr. Secretary Conway's letters, by a hand of the time: " Touching the play, called, " GAME AT CHESSE."—In the council-regiſter of the 30th Auguſt 1624, there is the following entry:—This day Edward [Thomas] Middleton of London, gent. being formerly ſent for by warrant from this board, tendred his appearance, wherefor his indemnitie is here entered into the regiſter of counceil cauſes: nevertheleſs he is enjoyned to attend the board, till he be diſcharged by order of their Lordſhips.

In a copy of a play, ſays Mr. Malone, [Shak. 1790, vol. i. part ii. p. 154.] called a *Game at Cheſs*, 1624, which was formerly in poſſeſſion of Thomas Pearſon, Eſq. is the following memorandum in an old hand:—" After nine days, " wherein I have heard ſome of the actors ſay they took fifteen " hundred pounds, the Spaniſh faction, being prevalent, got it " ſuppreſſed, and the author, Mr Thomas Middleton, com-
" mitted to priſon." According to " this ſtatement they re-
" ceived above £.166. 12s. on each performance. The fore-
" going extracts ſhew, that there is not even a ſemblance of
" truth in this ſtory."—We ſee, however, from thoſe ſtate-papers, that the ſtory had a great ſemblance of truth in it: The only improbability in it is the receiving of £.1500, at the theatre, for nine repreſentations.—This play, which is never more to be forgotten, was written, as we know from record evidence, by *Edward* [Thomas] Middleton; and was acted nine days ſucceſſively at The Globe, upon the Bankſide.—Of the *Game at Cheſs* there have been two editions, without the dates of their publication.

(*m*) Life of George Herbert.

" a diligent

" a diligent wiſdom, with which God hath " bleſſed Sir Henry Herbert." Certain it is, that he executed that office, and with this wiſdom, for fifty years, during *giddypaced times*; when *diligent wiſdom* was hardly a ſafeguard for property, or perſon.

Of ſuch a man, executing ſuch an office, who would not wiſh to know ſome further particulars? I will endeavour to gratify a reaſonable curioſity, by adding a few notices, with regard to a perſon, who left behind him *office-books*, which have greatly illuſtrated the hiſtory of the Revels. Henry Herbert was born towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, in the caſtle of Montgomery, which was then a place of *ſtate* and *ſtrength*; and had been long poſſeſt by the Herberts together with a plentiful eſtate. His father was Richard Herbert, who was deſcended, through a ſucceſſion of many knights, from the memorable William, Earl of Pembroke, who died in the reign of Edward the 4th. Henry Herbert's mother was Magdalen, the youngeſt daughter of Sir Richard Newport of High Arkol, in the county of Salop, the happy mother of ſeven ſons, and three daughters, which ſhe would often ſay, *was Job's number*; and, at the ſame time, *praiſe God that they*

were defective, neither in their shapes nor in their reason. This charming woman is celebrated, by Dr. Donne, in his poems, as *the Autumnal beauty.* Sir Edward Herbert, the famous Lord Cherberie, was her eldest son, George Herbert, the admirable orator of Cambridge, was her fifth son, and Henry Herbert, the Master of the Revels, was the sixth son of this *Autumnal beauty* (*n*). Of his brother Henry, Lord Herbert relates, "that after he had been "brought up in learning, as his other brothers "were, he was sent by his friends to France, "where he attained the language of that "country in much perfection, after which "time he came to court, and was made gen-"tleman of the King's privy-chamber, and "Master of the Revels, by which means, and "also by a good marriage, he attained to "great fortunes: He hath given several "proofs of his courage, in duels, and other-"wise, being no less dextrous in the ways of "the court (*o*)."

Sir

(*n*) Walton's Life of George Herbert, 1670.—Walton informs us, that on the 11th July 1627, he saw, and heard, Doctor Donne, the Dean of St. Paul's, weep, and preach, the funeral sermon of that excellent woman, the celebrated mother, of celebrated men, in the parish church of Chelsea, where she now rests, in her quiet grave. [Ib. p. 19.]

(*o*) His own Life, p. 13. Lord Herbert settled on each of

Sir Henry Herbert owed his preferment to the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain. When he became acting Maſter of the Revels, in 1623, he was aſſiſted by William Hunt, who continued his yeoman till September 1639; when Joſeph Taylor, the well known manager of various theatres, the firſt player of Hamlet, and the able repreſentative of Iago, was appointed Yeoman of the Revels (*p*). Notwithſtanding the able

of his ſix brothers an annuity of *thirty* pounds, during their lives, and gave each of his three ſiſters a thouſand pounds. [Ib. 52.]

(*p*) To the Clerk of the Signet attending: Theſe are to ſignify unto you his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you prepare a bill for the royal ſignature for a patent to be granted to Joſeph Taylor of the office or place of Yeoman of the Revels to his Majeſty in ordinary, in the place of William Hunt deceaſed; to have and enjoy the ſaid place together with the fee of ſixpence p. diem, payable quarterly in the receipt of his Majeſty's exchequer, and all other fees, profits, emoluments, and advantages whatſoever to the ſaid place belonging to him the ſaid Joſeph Taylor, during his life, in as ample, large, and beneficial a manner, as the ſaid William Hunt or any other before him ever had and enjoyed the ſame: And to commence from the day of the deceaſe of the ſaid William Hunt. And this &c. Dated the 21ſt of Oct. 1639. [Copied from a MS book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.] Taylor is ſaid to have died at Richmond, in 1653, or 1654: But, I have not been able to diſcover his will, or any adminiſtration to his effects.

help of Taylor, there was allowed to be acted by the Maſter of the Revels, a play called *The Whore New Vamped*, which drew the attention of the privy-council, and involved them both in merited diſcredit (*q*).

In

(*q*) " Whereas complaint was this day [29th September " 1639] made to his Majeſty ſitting in council, that the " ſtage players of the Red Bull have lately for many days " together, acted a ſcandalous and libellous play, wherein " they have audaciouſly reproached in a libellous manner, " traduced, and perſonated, *not only ſome of the Aldermen* " *of the City of London, and other perſons of quality*; but alſo " ſcandalized and defamed the whole profeſſion of Proctors " belonging to the Court of Civil Law, and reflected upon " the preſent Government: It was Ordered, that Mr. At- " torney General ſhould be hereby prayed, and required, " forthwith to call before him, not only the poet that made " the ſaid play, and the actors that played the ſame, but alſo " the perſon who licenſed it, and having diligently examined " the truth of the ſame complaint, to proceed ſoundly againſt " ſuch of them, as he ſhall find to be faulty, and to uſe ſuch " effectual expedition to bring them to ſentence as that their " exemplary puniſhment may prevent ſuch inſolentcys be- " times."

Exceptions:—In the play called *The Whore New Vamp'd* where there was mention of the New Duty upon wines, one that perſonates a juſtice of the peace, ſays to Cane, Sirrah, I'll have you before the alderman;—whereto Cane replied in theſe words, viz. The alderman! The alderman is a baſe, drunken, ſottiſh knave, I care not for the alderman; I ſay the alderman is a baſe, drunken, ſottiſh knave; another ſaid, How now, Sirrah, what alderman do you ſpeak of? Then Cane

In the mean time, the paſſion of the court for theatrical entertainments required a ſtricter attendance, both at Whitehall, and at Hampton-court, of the officers of the Revels, than had been uſual, during *the ſtealing hours of time*; and they were allowed for a larger ſervice, a ſuitable allowance (*r*). The ſame paſſion

Cane ſaid, I mean alderman, the blackſmith, in Holborn:—ſaid th'other, was he not a vintner? Cane anſwered, I know no other.—In another part of the ſame play, one ſpeaking of projects, and patents, that he had gotten amongſt the reſt, ſaid that he had a patent for twelve pence a piece, upon every proctor and proctor's man; that was not a knave:—Said another, was there ever known any proctor, but he was an arrant knave?

It does not appear, that *The Whore New Vamp'd* was ever publiſhed, at leaſt it is not mentioned, either in the Biographia Dramatica, or in Egerton's Remembrancer: Nor, is this circumſtance much to be regretted; as it appears to have been very libellous, and very dull. This is probably the laſt time, that the privy-council ever ſat for the purpoſe of correcting the dulneſs of the ſtage: For, in the ſubſequent year, the ancient juriſdiction of the privy-council, over perſons, and property, was reſtrained within ſalutary bounds, by the act 16 Cha. I. ch. 10, for regulating the privy-council, and for taking away the court of ſtar-chamber: This act forms an epoch in dramatic hiſtory.

(*r*) After my very hearty comendations: Whereas the officers of the Revells have [attended] by my command at Hampton-court about his Majeſty's ſervice theſe three years laſt beginning the laſt of October 1632, and ending the laſt of

paſſion alſo led to the introduction, and encouragement, of French comedians, and Spaniſh players, during the year 1635 (*s*). And that paſſion

of October 1635 A month ſooner than their Ordinary time of attendance; Theſe are therefore to pray and require you, that for every year within the ſaid time, you give allowance to the Maſter of 8*s*./ per diem, which cometh to £. 12.—To the Clerk Comptroller, Clerk and Yeoman £. 3. 6. 8. a piece; which cometh to £. 10:—And to the Groom £. 1. 13. 4, which cometh in all to £. 23. 13. 4. yearly. And for ſo doing &c. Dated the 25th May 1636.

After my very hearty commendations:—Whereas the Maſter and Officers of the Revells were commanded by his Majeſty to begin their attendance yearly at the Feaſt of St. Michael the Archangel, which is above a month before their uſual time of waiting, and demand allowance for the three laſt years, beginning the laſt of October 1630, and ending the laſt of October 1632, a month ſooner than their ordinary time of attendance: Theſe are therefore to pray and require you, that for every year within the ſaid time, you give allowance to the Maſter of 8*s*./ per diem, which cometh to £. 12: To the Clerk Comptroller, Clerk, and Yeoman £. 3. 6. 8. a piece, which cometh to £. 10: And to the Groom £. 1. 13. 4. yearly; and ſo continue the ſame from time to time yearly until you have warrant to the contrary. And for ſo doing &c. Dated the 13th February $163\frac{6}{7}$.—To my loving friends the Auditors of his Majeſty's Impreſt, or to any one of them whom it may concern. [From a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.]

(*s*) There is the following entry in a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office: 18 April 1635: His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſignify his royal pleaſure, that the French

paſſion of the King and Queen created a great, and extraordinary expence, at a time, when they enjoyed but a very ſcanty revenue: The acting of Cartwright's *Royal Slave*, on Thurſday the 12th of January $163\frac{6}{7}$, before the King at Hampton-court, coſt one hundred and fifty-four (*t*) pounds, excluſive of forty pounds, which

French comedians (having agreed with Monſ. le Febure) may erect a ſtage, ſcaffolds, and ſeats, and all other accommodations, which ſhall be convenient, and act and preſent interludes, and ſtage plays, at his houſe, in Drury-lane, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, without any diſturbance, hindrance, or interruption. And this ſhall be to them, and Mr. le Febure, and to all others, a ſufficient diſcharge, &c. [The addreſs is wanting.]

(*t*) Id:—The following liſt of payments, which was compiled from the ſame MS. book, will alſo ſhow how much the expence for theatrical entertainments was increaſed, ſince the frugal reign of Elizabeth; as, indeed, the price of all things had riſen:—

27th April 1634—A warrant for £.220, unto John Lowen, Joſeph Taylor, and Elliard Swanſton, for themſelves, and the reſt of their fellows, the King's players, for 22 plays by them acted before his Majeſty within a whole year.

25th Auguſt 1634—A council-warrant for £.100, for the Prince's players for their attendance abroad, during the progreſs of the court.

31ſt Decem^r. 1634—A warrant for £.70, unto Chriſtopher Beeſton for himſelf, and the reſt of the Queen's players for plays acted by them in 1633.

18th

which Sir Henry Herbert ſays the King gave the author. The King and Queen's paſſion for

18th Jañry 163⅘—A warrant for £. 1400 unto Mr. Edmund Taverner, to be employed towards the charge of a maſque to be preſented before his Majeſty at Whitehall at Shrovetide next, the ſame to be taken without impreſt, account, or other charge, to be ſet upon him his executors or aſſigns. [This is the maſque, which Sir Henry Herbert records the acting of "On Shrove-tueſday night, the 18th of February: "It was the nobleſt maſque of my time; the beſt "poetry; the beſt ſcenes; and the beſt habitts."]

24th Jañry 163⅘—A warrant for £. 30 unto William Blagrave for himſelf and the reſt of his company, for three plays acted by the Children of the Revells at Whitehall in 1631.—Mem.—Their bill was ſigned by Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of the Revells, and paſſed.

30th Jañry 163⅘—A warrant for £. 30, unto William Blagrave, for himſelf and the reſt of his company, for three plays, acted by the Children of the Revells, in 1631.—

10th May 1635—A warrant for £. 30, unto Monſ. Joſias Floridor for himſelf and the reſt of the French players, for three plays acted by them, at the Cockpit.—

24th May 1635—A warrant for £. 250, unto John Lowen, for himſelf and the reſt of the King's players, for twenty plays (whereof 5 at £. 20, a piece, being at Hampton-court) by them acted between 13th May 1624, and the 30th of March 1626.

10th Decemr 1635—A warrant for £. 100 to the Prince's comedians—viz. £. 60 for 3 plays acted at Hamp-

for plays ſhowed itſelf in their kindneſs to

ton-court at £. 20 for each play, in September, and October 1634.—And £. 40, for four plays at Whitehall, and the Cockpit, in January, February, and May following, at £. 10 for each play.—Mem.—Their bill was ſigned by Sir Henry Herbert, Joſeph Moore, Andrew Kayne [Kane] and Ellis Worth.

23d Decemr. 1635—A warrant for £. 10 unto John Navarro, for himſelf and the reſt of the company of Spaniſh players, for a play preſented before his Majeſty.

8th Jaũry $163\frac{5}{6}$—A warrant for £. 10. unto Joſias Floridor, for himſelf and the reſt of the French players, for a tragedy, by them acted before his Majeſty in December laſt.—

24th March $163\frac{5}{6}$—A warrant for £. 90, unto Mr. Chriſtopher Beeſton, for 8 plays acted by the Queen's players at court, in 1634, whereof one at Hampton-court.

10th May 1636—A warrant for £. 180, unto the King's players, for plays, acted in 1635.

8th Febry $163\frac{6}{7}$—A warrant for £. 50, unto Richard Heton, for himſelf and the reſt of the company of the players, at Saliſbury-court, for 3 plays acted by them before his Majeſty, in October, and February 1635 (viz.) Two at £. 20 a piece, being at Hampton-court; the other at £. 10. being at St. James's.

15th March 163^{6}—A warrant for £. 240, unto his Majeſty's players—viz. £. 210. for 21 plays, acted by them at £. 10 a play:—And £. 30 more, for a new play called *the Royal Slave*.

10th

to the players, who as royal ſervants were

10th May 1637—A warrant for the payment of £. 150, unto Mr. Chriſtopher Beeſton, for plays acted by the Queen's ſervants—(viz.) Four at Hampton-court, at £. 20 per play, in 1635.—Five at Whitehall in the ſame year; and two plays acted by the New Company.

15 March 163$\frac{7}{8}$—A warrant for £. 150 unto John Lowen, Joſeph Taylor and Elliardt Swanſton, or any of them, for themſelves, and the reſt of the company of his Majeſty's players, for 14 plays acted before his Majeſty, between the 30th of September and the 3d of February following, 1637.—One whereof was at Hampton-court, for which £. 20 is allowed; the reſt at the uſual allowance of £. 10 a play.

21ſt March 163$\frac{7}{8}$—A warrant for £. 40 unto Joſeph Moore, for himſelf and the reſt of the Prince's players, for three plays acted before his Highneſs, &c. in November, and December laſt: One whereof was at Richmond, for which was allowed £. 20, in conſideration of their travel, and remove of goods.

12th March 163$\frac{8}{9}$—Foraſmuch as his Majeſty's ſervants, the company at the Blackfryers, have by ſpecial command, at divers times within the ſpace of this preſent year 1638; acted 24 plays before his Majeſty; ſix whereof have been performed at Hampton-court, and Richmond, by means whereof, they were not only at the loſs of their day at home, but at extraordinary charges, by travelling, and carriage of their goods; in conſideration whereof they are to have £. 20 a piece, for thoſe plays; and £. 10 a piece, for the other 18 acted at Whitehall, which in the whole

were protected from arrests, by frequent interpositions;

whole amounteth to the sum of £. 300.—These are therefore to pray and require you out of his Majesty's treasure, in your charge, to pay or cause to be paid unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliardt Swanston, or any one of them, for themselves, and the rest of the aforesaid company, of his Majesty's players, the said sum of £. 300, for acting the aforesaid 24 plays.—And these &c.

6th March 1639/40—A warrant for £. 80, unto Henry Turner &c. the Queen's players, for seven plays by them acted at court in 1638, & 1639; whereof £. 20 for one play at Richmond.

4th April 1640—A warrant for £. 230, unto John Lowen, Joseph Taylor, and Elliardt Swanston for themselves and the rest of the company of the players, for one and twenty plays, acted before their Majesty's, whereof two at Richmond, for which they are allowed £. 20 a piece; and for the rest £. 10 a piece; all these being acted between the 6th of August 1639, and the 11th of Febry following.

4th May 1640—A warrant for £. 60 unto the company of the Prince's players (viz.) to Joseph Moore and Andrew Kayne [Kane, or Cane] for themselves and the rest, for 3 plays by them acted at Richmond, at £. 20 each play, in consideration of their travelling expences, and loss of the days at home, these in the month of November.—Mem.—Their bill was testified by Mr. Ayton, the Prince's Gent. Usher.

20th March 1640/1—A warrant for £. 160 unto the King's players, for plays acted before his Majesty, the Queen, and Prince, between the 10th of November

(*u*) interpoſitions; and who, in return, adhered to the King's ſide, during the civil wars, which involved all, in a common ruin. Sir Henry Herbert enjoyed his full ſhare both of the pleaſures, and diſtreſſes, of thoſe times.

The Maſter of the Revels ſeems to have exerciſed an authority over the preſs, as well as over the players: And, by virtue of ſome power, which he probably derived from the Lord Chamberlain, Sir Henry Herbert often licenſed, during that period, the printing of plays, and poetry. The ſame Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, who patronized Shakſpeare, as the *player-editors* inform us, alſo endeavoured, though without ſucceſs, to prevent the ſtealing of his manuſcripts, the corruption of his writings, and the diſgrace of the poet, by ſurreptitious printing. Lord Pembroke's brother, and ſucceſſor, in office, made a new effort, in 1637, on the complaint of the players, to prevent the illicit printing of the plays, which *they had purchaſed at dear rates*, by addreſſing an official

ber 1640, and the 22d of February 1640/1 to be paid to John Lowen, Joſeph Taylor, and Ellardt Swanſton or any of them.

(*u*) In the ſame MS book, there are many *tickets* of privilege to the players, and *the dependants on the players.*

edict

edict to the Maſter and Wardens of the Stationers' company (*v*).

The

(*v*) The *Lord Chamberlain's edict againſt printing plays.* [From a MS. book in his office.]

After my hearty commendations:—Whereas complaint was heretofore preſented to my dear brother and predeceſſor by his Majeſty's ſervants the players, that ſome of the Company of Printers and Stationers had procured publiſhed and printed divers of their books of Comedies Tragedies Interludes Hiſtories and the like which they had (for the ſpecial ſervice of his Majeſty and for their own uſe) bought and provided at very deare and high rates: By means whereof not only they themſelves had much prejudice, but the books much corruption to the injury and diſgrace of the authors; And thereupon the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers were adviſed by my brother to take notice thereof and to take order for the ſtay of any further impreſſion of any of the plays or Interludes of his Majeſty's ſervants, without their conſents; which being a caution given with ſuch reſpect, and grounded on ſuch weighty reaſons, both for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the particular intereſt of the players, and ſo agreable to common juſtice, and that indifferent meaſure, which every man would look for in his own particular, it might have been preſumed that there would have needed no further Order or direction in the buſineſs: Notwithſtanding which I am informed that ſome Copies of Plays belonging to the King, and Queen's Servants, the players, and purchaſed by them at deare rates, having been lately ſtolen or gotten from them by indirect means are now attempted to be printed and that ſome of them are at your preſs, and ready to be printed, which if it ſhould be ſuffered would directly tend to their apparent detriment and great prejudice and to the diſenabling of them to do their

The printers, however, were not the only perſons, who ſurreptitiouſly appropriated *the goods* of other owners. The players, and the directors of players, ſtole from one another.

Majeſties ſervice: For prevention and redreſs whereof, it is deſired that Order be given and entered by the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers, that if any plays be already entred, or ſhall hereafter be brought unto the Hall, to be entred for printing, that notice thereof be given to the King's and Queen's ſervants the players, and an inquiry made of them to whom they do belong. And that none be ſuffered to be printed untill the aſſent of their Majeſty's ſaid ſervants be made appear to the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers by ſome Certificate in Writing under the hands of John Lowen and Joſeph Taylor for the King's ſervants, and of Chriſtopher Bieſton for the King's and Queen's young company or of ſuch other perſons as ſhall from time to time have the direction of thoſe Companies, which is a courſe that can be hurtfull unto none, but ſuch as go about unjuſtly to avail themſelves of others goods, without reſpect of Order, or good government, which I [am] confident you will be careful to avoid: And therefore I commend it to your ſpecial care and if you ſhall have need of any further authority or power either from his Majeſty or the Council-table the better to enable you in the execution thereof, upon notice given to me either by yourſelves or by the players, I will endeavour to apply that further remedy thereto which ſhall be requiſite. And ſo &c. Dated the 10th of June, 1637. P.[embroke] and M.[ontgomery.]

To the Maſter and Wardens of the Company of Printers and Stationers.

The

The Maſter of the Revels tried, without ſucceſs, to prevent this *petty larceny*. Complaints were made, when other meaſures failed, to the Lord Chamberlain, who ſuppoſed himſelf, becauſe he was ſuppoſed by others, to be omnipotent over the theatric world. And, he iſſued to the puny rulers of the dramatic ſtates, his imperative mandates, which, as they were ſometimes enforced by impriſonment, were generally obeyed as *biting laws* (*w*).

Yet,

(*w*) Whereas William Bieſton Gent. Governor &c. of the King's and Queen's Young Company of Players at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, hath repreſented unto his Majeſty, that the ſeveral plays hereafter mentioned (viz.) Witt without Money; The Night Walkers; The Knight of the burning Peſtill; Fathers owne Sonne; Cupids Revenge; The Bondman; The Renegado; A New way to pay Debts; The Great Duke of Florence; The Maid of Honor; The Traytor; The Example; The Young Admirall; The Opoitunity; A Witty fayre one; Loves Cruelty; The Wedding; The Maids Revenge; The Lady of Pleaſure; The Schoole of Complement; The grateful Servant; The Coronation; Hide Parke; Philip Chabot Admiral of France; A Mad Couple well mett; All's loſs by Luſt; The Changeling; A fayre Quarrell; The Spaniſh Gypſie; The World; The Sunnes Darling; Love's Sacrifice; Tis Pitty ſhee's a Whore; George a greene; Loves Miſtreſs; The Cunning Lovers; The Rape of Lucreſe; A Trick to cheat the Devill; A Foole and her Maydenhead ſoon parted; King John and Matilda; A Citty Night Cap; The

Yet, it ſometimes required the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, and the penalty of impriſonment, to oblige the managers of play-houſes to obey the accuſtomed powers of the Maſter of the Revels; ſo obſtinate is intereſt, when oppoſed to duty. William Beeſton, who ſeems to have ſucceeded his father Chriſtopher Beeſton, in the management of the *young players* at the Cockpit, in Drury-lane, was thus induced to diſobey the orders of the Maſter of the Revels; performing a forbidden play, "which had relation to the paſſages of "the King's journey into the North; whereof "his Majeſty complained" to Sir Henry Her-

Bloody Banquett; Cupid's Vagaries; The Conceited Duke; and Appius and Virginia; do all and every of them properly and of right belong to the ſaid houſe; and conſequently, that they are all in his propriety.—And to the end that any other companies of actors in or about London ſhall not preſume to act any of them to the prejudice of him the ſaid William Bieſton and his company.—His Majeſty hath ſignified his royal pleaſure unto me thereby requiring me to declare ſo much to all other companies of actors hereby concernable, that they are not any ways to intermeddle with, or act any of the above mentioned plays.—Whereof I require all maſters and governors of playhouſes, and all others whom it may concern to take notice and to forbear to impeach the ſaid William Bieſton in the premiſſes as they tender his Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and will anſwer the contempt. Dated the 10th of Auguſt 1639. [From a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office.]

bert.

bert. The Lord Chamberlain iſſued his official edict againſt him (*x*). Beeſton was committed to the Marſhalſey, by virtue of his warrant, for playing without a licenſe; yet, he was in a few days diſcharged, on making a formal ſubmiſſion to ſcenic power.

(*x*) The following is a copy of the Lord Chamberlain's order, from a MS. book in his office:—

Whereas William Bieſton and the company of players of the Cockpit in Drury-lane have lately acted a new play without any licenſe from the Maſter of his Majeſty's Revells, and being commanded to forbear playing or acting of the ſame play by the ſaid Maſter of the Revells, and commanded likewiſe to forbear all manner of playing, have notwithſtanding in contempt of the authority of the ſaid Maſter of the Revells and the power granted unto him under the great ſeal of England acted the ſaid play and others to the prejudice of his Majeſty's ſervice and in contempt of the office of the Revells [whereby] he, and they, and all other companies, ever have been and ought to be governed and regulated: Theſe are therefore in his Majeſty's name and ſignification of his royal pleaſure to command the ſaid William Bieſton and the reſt of that company of the Cockpit players from henceforth and upon ſight hereof to forbear to act any plays whatſoever until they ſhall be reſtored by the ſaid Maſter of the Revells unto their former liberty. Whereof all parties concernable are to take notice and conform accordingly as they and every of them will anſwer it at their peril. Dated the 3d. of May 1640.

To Wm Bieſton, George Eſtoteville and the reſt of the Company of Players at the Cockpit in Drury-lane.

But, his rebellion againſt authority ſeems not to have been ſoon forgotten. He was not long after ſuperſeded in his management, by a perſon, who had more intereſt than Beeſton; becauſe he knew better how to pleaſe. This was William D'Avenant, the *lawful* ſon of John D'Avenant, vintner, in Oxford, the *ſuppoſed* ſon of Shakſpeare, and the opponent of Sir Henry Herbert. D'Avenant was born, in February $160\frac{5}{6}$; and entered of Lincoln college, Oxford, in 1621: But, leaving the univerſity, without a degree, became firſt the page of the Ducheſs of Richmond, then an attendant on Lord Brook, and afterwards a ſervant of the Queen. As a dramatic writer, he publiſhed *Albovine*, in 1629; the *Cruel Brother*, in 1630; the *Juſt Italian*, in 1630; the *Temple of Love*, in 1634; the *Triumphs* of the *Prince D'Amour*, in 1635; the *Platonic Lovers*, in 1636; the *Wits*, in 1636; *Britannia Triumphans*, in 1637: And, on the 13th of December, 1638, an annuity of £. 100. was ſettled on him, by Charles the firſt; "in con-" ſideration of ſervices done, and to be done." On the 26th of March 1639, he was authorized, by a patent under the great ſeal, as we learn from Rymer, to erect a playhouſe, in Fleet-ſtreet: But, from this project, D'Avenant

nant ſoon deſiſted; becauſe his attention was immediately drawn to an object of leſs riſque, and of more eaſy execution. On the 27th of June 1640, he was appointed by the Lord Chamberlain to take into his government the theatre, called the Cockpit, in Drury-lane (*y*). But,

(*y*) The following *appointment* was copied from a MS. book in the Lord Chamberlain's office. Mr. Malone has miſdated this document, in 1639, inſtead of 1640. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. pag. 237.]

"Whereas in the playhouſe or theatre commonly called the Cockpit in Drury-lane there are a company of players or actors authoriſed by me (as Lord Chamberlain to his Majeſty) to play or act under the title of the King's and Queen's ſervants, and that by reaſon of ſome diſorders lately amongſt them committed they are diſabled in their ſervice and quality: Theſe are therefore to ſignify that by the ſame authority I do authoriſe and appoint William Davenant Gent. one of her Majeſty's ſervants, for me, and in my name, to take into his government and care the ſaid company of players, to govern, order, and diſpoſe of them for action and preſentments and all their affairs in the ſaid houſe as in his diſcretion ſhall ſeem beſt to conduce to his Majeſty's ſervice in that quality. And I do hereby enjoin and command them, all and every of them, that are ſo authoriſed to play in the ſaid houſe under the privilege of his or her Majeſty's ſervants, and every one belonging as prentices or ſervants to thoſe actors to play under the ſaid privilege, that they obey the ſaid Mr. Davenant and follow his orders and directions as they will anſwer the contrary; which power or privilege he is to continue and enjoy during that leaſe which Mrs. Eli-

But, this authority, however agreeable to him, he did not long enjoy; being involved in the conteſts of the times, which ended in accuſation, and impriſonment.

In all thoſe meaſures, whether favourable, or adverſe, Sir Henry Herbert enjoyed his appropriate ſhare. During that period, he partook of the mingled pleaſure of correcting every new play before it was preſented; and received a fee of forty ſhillings, for his pains. He received alſo, as Maſter of the Revels, from the eſtabliſhed playhouſes, a Summer, and a Winter, benefit, which yielded him nine pounds each, according to an average of years. In October 1629, by an agreement with the King's company, which laſted till the civil wars began, he received, in lieu of benefits, ten pounds at Chriſtmas, and the ſame ſum at Midſummer. He was paid alſo particular gratuities for ſpecial ſervices, which he received for the laſt time, in June 1642; as the civil war was already begun. And, he poſſeſt what ſeems to have been a neceſſary append-

zabeth Bieſton alias Hucheſon hath or doth hold in the ſaid playhouſe: Provided he be ſtill accountable to me for his care and well ordering the ſaid company—Given under my hand and ſeal this 27th. June 1640."

P.[embroke] and M.[ontgomery.]

age

age of his office, an appropriate box in the eſtabliſhed theatres (z).

In the period, from 1623 to 1643, the monarch of the Revels exerciſed, like the monarch over the ſtate, unbounded authority over the dramatic world. During the unhappy times, from 1642, to 1660, his authority over paſtimes ceaſed; while all lawful power was impugned, and all innocent paſtime was decried. With the reſtoration of the conſtitutional magiſtrate, the Maſter of the Revels, aſſumed his former juriſdiction, but was ſurpriſed to find, that the unqualified licentiouſneſs of recent times had given men new habits of reaſoning, notions of privileges, and propenſities to reſiſtance. During this ſenſation, he applied to the courts of juſtice for redreſs; but the contradictory verdicts of juries left *contention, by contraries, to execute all things.* The ruler of the paſtimes now appealed to the ruler of the ſtate; but without receiving redreſs, or exciting ſympathy. Mutual vexations produced at length, in the dramatic world, mutual agreement; as the ſame cauſe had already produced the ſame effect, in the political world. But, like other diſputed juriſ-

(z) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. pp. 144—153-154—237.

dictions,

dictions, and other weak governments, the authority of the Maſter of the Revels continued to be oppreſſive in its ſuperintendance, until *the Revolution* taught new leſſons to all parties.

Soon after his advancement to the vice-royalty of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert ſettled with his family, at Woodford in Eſſex; where, he kindly received, in 1629, his brother George, who was afflicted with an ague; as Walton inform us. Sir Henry reſided at Chelſea, during the civil wars (*a*). And in thoſe

(*a*) It appears, from the pariſh regiſter of Chelſea, ſays Lyſons, [Environs, vol. ii. p. 127,] that Richard, the ſecond ſon of Sir Henry Herbert, was baptized, on the 25th of February 1657, and died under age. There is an anecdote preſerved by Wood [Ath. vol. ii. col. 700,] which, as it is characteriſtic of Charles 1ſt; during the trying ſcenes of his laſt days, and does honour to Sir Henry, ought to be remembered: "It may not be forgotten," ſays Wood, "that "Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of the Revels, a gentleman in "ordinary of his Majeſty's privy-chamber (one that cor-"dially loved and honoured the King, and during the war, "had ſuffered conſiderably in his eſtate by ſequeſtration and "otherwiſe) meeting M^r. Thomas Herbert his kinſman in "St James's park, firſt inquired how his Majeſty did, and "afterwards preſenting his duty to him, with aſſurance, that "himſelf with many other of his Majeſty's ſervants did "frequently pray for him, deſired that his Majeſty would "be pleaſed to read the ſecond chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus*; "for

thoſe times, he acquired, though I know not by what means, the manor of Ribbesford, in Warwickſhire. By the influence, which he thereby obtained over Bewdley, he was choſen by that borough a member of the parliament, which met in 1661; though he immediately vacated his ſeat, for the accommodation of his ſon Henry, who long repreſented this town, wherein they had many meſſuages. Sir Henry kept the office of the Revels in Cary-Houſe, during his diſputes with Thomas Killigrew, Sir William D'Avenant, John Rhodes, and the other proprietors of theatres, in 1660, 1661, and 1662. Killigrew, who probably had caſt his eye on the ſame office, entered into an agreement of *amity for life* with Sir Henry; promiſed payment of damages for the paſt; and ſubmiſſion to ſcenic authority for the future:—Sir Henry engaging, to ſupport Killigrew, if neceſſity ſhould require aſſiſt-

" for he ſhould find comfort in it, aptly ſuiting to his pre-
" ſent condition. Accordingly Mr Herbert acquainted the
" King therewith, who thanked Sir Harry, and commended
" him for his excellent parts, being a good ſcholar, ſoldier,
" and accompliſhed courtier; and for his many years faith-
" ful ſervice much valued by the King, who preſently turned
" to that chapter, and read it with much ſatisfaction."

ance.

ance (*b*). The other theatrical managers were more litigious; becauſe they had leſs to hope, and more to fear, than Killigrew. The litigants might have all exclaimed with Conſtance: "When law can do no right, let it "be lawful, that law bar no wrong." The truth is, that on the one ſide, there was a patent, under the great ſeal, with ancient cuſtom, and a ſenſe of injury;—on the other ſide, there was a licenſe, under the privy ſignet, with new modes of thinking, ſenſibility of oppreſſion, and feelings of want.—While the ancient authority of the ruler of the Revels was thus ſhaken to its baſe, he was neither ſupported by the King, who had many claimants to gratify; nor countenanced by the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Manchester, who was no friend to paſtimes, and probably looked at the office with envy (*c*).

(*b*) See the agreement, which is curious, in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 263.

(*c*) The Maſter of the Revels was obliged to relinquiſh his claims, in conſequence of thoſe litigations, ſays Mr. Malone, and his office ceaſed to be attended with either authority or profit. [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 258.] This poſition is too broad: His authority was certainly ſhaken, without overthrow; and his profits were leſſened, without being abſolutely loſt.

Sir

Sir Henry Herbert was now well ſtricken in years; he was mortified by diſcountenance, and irritated by oppoſition. He retired, accordingly, to his independent ſeat at Ribbeſford, leaving a deputy, no doubt, to exerciſe a diſputed authority, and to receive litigated fees. He here enjoyed a reſpected old age, during the happieſt period of his life. And, he died on the 27th of April 1673; leaving to his ſon conſiderable poſſeſſions, and to two daughters handſome (*d*) fortunes; including,

(*d*) His will is dated on the 1ſt of Jañry 167$\frac{2}{3}$; a codicil was added on the 9th of April; and both were proved, in the prerogative-court, on the 15th of May, by Henry Herbert, Sir Francis Lawley, and William Harbord his executors. Sir Henry Herbert married, for his ſecond wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Robert Offley of High Arcol. His ſon Henry was created Lord Herbert of Cherbery, by a patent dated the 28th April 1694; the elder branch having failed in 1691: This peerage became again extinct, on the death of Sir Henry's ſon, Henry, without iſſue in 1738. The manor of Ribbesford, thereupon, paſſed to Henry Morley, a deſcendant of the Maſter of the Revels, who took the name and arms of Herbert. In conſequence of all thoſe family failures, there remained at Ribbesford nothing of the Herbert's but the *Old Cheſt*, which contained the life of the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbery, that was publiſhed by the Earl of Orford; and the office-book of Sir Henry; containing many ſcenic particulars, that were given to the world by Mr. Malone; being enabled to gratify curioſity, by the liberal communication of Mr. Francis Ingram of Ribbesford.

by

by ſpecial bequeſt, the debts, due to him from Charles 1ſt, and Charles 2d; which were paid, during the reign of Anne.

The office of the Revels was immediately filled by Thomas Killigrew, one of the grooms of the King's bedchamber; by means, probably, of a reverſionary patent. The new Maſter of the Revels was the ſon of Sir Robert Killigrew, chamberlain to the Queen; and was born at the manor of Hanworth, in February 1611. Of Thomas Killigrew, Wood delights to tell, that *he was not educated at any univerſity*. He was appointed page of honour to Charles 1ſt; to whom, in his various fortunes, he faithfully adhered. Attending Charles 2d in his exile, he contributed, by his convivial humour, to alleviate the preſſures of penury. In this ſituation, he cultivated dramatic poetry, though without much ſucceſs, whatever were his diligence. In 1651, Killigrew was ſent to Venice, as reſident ambaſſador; contrary to the advice of the graver ſervants of Charles 2d, ſays Clarendon. As a negotiator, he did neither honour to his maſter, nor credit to himſelf. His return was celebrated by Denham, in the following airy verſes; which are at once characteriſtic of the writer, and of the ſubject:—

" Our

" Our reſident Tom
" From Venice is come,
" And has left all the ſtateſman behind him;
" Talks at the ſame pitch,
" Is as wiſe, is as rich,
" And juſt where you left him, you find him.
" But, who ſays he's not
" A man of much plot,
" May repent of this falſe accuſation;
" Having *plotted*, and penn'd,
" *Six* plays to attend
" On the *Farce* of his Negotiation (*e*)."

Killigrew returned to England at *the Reſtoration*; when his conviviality was at length heightened by enjoyment, and his proſpects were brightened by hope. He was ſoon appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles 2d; and, continuing in high favour with the King, he is ſaid to have had acceſs, which his office doubtleſs gave him, at times when peers were denied. While Wood commemorates his many generous acts to the ſuffering Cavaliers, he ſourly remarks, that Killigrew was the King's *Jeſter*. During that joyous ſeaſon, paſtimes were revived, with double reliſh. A patent, under the King's privy ſig-

(*e*) The Biog. Dram. gives the titles of *ſeven* dramas, which were written by Thomas Killigrew, in his exile; one of them was probably compoſed *after* the *Farce* of his *Negotiation*.

net,

net, was granted, on the 11th of Auguſt 1660, to Thomas Killigrew, and Sir William D'Avenant; empowering them to erect new playhouſes, and to embody two companies, with the ſole right of regulation, and the excluſive privilege of acting. Under this (*f*) patent, oppoſed as it was by Sir Henry Herbert, two companies of actors were immediately formed: Killigrew's was called *The King's Company*; D'Avenant's, *the Duke of York's Company*. Killigrew appointed Mahun, Hart, and Lacy, the ſuperintendants of the King's company; which, removing from the Red-bull to Vere-ſtreet, where they began to act, on the 8th of November 1660, afterwards ſettled in Drury-lane, where they opened their theatre, on the 8th of April 1662. But, ſucceſs ſoon begat diſcontent. The royal company complained to the King, of the obſtruction of the Maſter of the Revels, and of the oppreſſion of the Maſter of the Theatre. This complaint was referred to the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir John Denham, who reported their opinion

(*f*) This grant is publiſhed in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 244. Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 397.

to

to be, that the complaint was groundleſs (*g*). With this judgment, in his favour, and the agreement

(*g*) The petition of Mohun, Shatterel, Hart, and other players, againſt Sir Henry Herbert, and Thomas Killigrew, may be ſeen in Mal. Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 248, and in Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. ii. p. 402: The ſubjoined Report, from a copy in the paper-office, in anſwer to it, will form a proper *ſupplement* to the *petition*:—

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty:

" According to your Majeſty's Command Wee have " heard Mr. Killigrew concerning the complaints made " againſt him by the Company in exerciſing a power beyond " your Majeſty's Graunt [21ſt Auguſt 1660] And wee " find by your Maties. Letters Patent, that your Matie. hath " granted to him full and abſolute power to make and con- " ſtitute a Company of Actors or Players, to be under his " ſole government and authority; and that he ſhall give " them reſpectively ſuch allowances as he ſhall think fit; " and that he hath power to take in, and eject whom he ſhall " think meet. And wee do find that he hath been ſo far from " abuſing this power, that he hath made very little uſe of it " hitherto: Only in giving Letters of Attorney to Moone " [Mohun] Hart, and Lacy, to be ſuperintendants over the " reſt, who by virtue of that power have taken in one ſhare, " three quarters of which they have enjoyed theſe ten months, " and impoſed on the Company £. 200 p ann. for two hired " men; ſo that having upon complaint of the reſt of the " Company recalled that Letter of Attorney, and given up " the three quarters of the ſhare to the Company, which " ſaves them the £. 200 p ann, all, that he pretends to, is " only the ſhare of Bird, who is dead, by which the Company " are gainers; for had the Letter of Attorney continued, the

agreement of *amity* with Sir Henry Herbert, in his pocket, Killigrew found leiſure to publiſh his dramas in 1664, with *his picture* prefixed to them; as Wood remarks. He now paſſed his time merrily; being pleaſed himſelf, and endeavouring to pleaſe (*b*) others; till the Maſterſhip of the Revels was actually transferred to him, by the demiſe of Sir Henry Herbert. He immediately announced his acceſſion to this power; which he was active

" Company had not only loſt the profit of that ſhare, but this " alſo. For by his power they that took the other ſhare " would have enjoyed this; The unreaſonableneſs of their " exceptions is, they have profited theſe twelve months by " that ſame power, which now they diſpute; which if he " can give, he may certainly enjoy. All which power he " pretends to, is confeſſed under their hands and ſeals, and " they have acted by it theſe ten months.

" E. Manchester.
" Lauderdaill.
" Jo. Denham."

(*b*) In a document, which is preſerved in the paper-office, I obſerve the following payments in 1667:—

To the keeper of the theatre at Whitehall	£. 30 — —
To the ſame for keeping clean that place, p ann. - - - - - - - - -	6 — —
To Mr. Thomas Killigrew's bill for plays, acted before his Majeſty - - -	560 — —
To Sir William D'Avenant for plays acted before the King - - - - -	450 — —

to

to enforce, by the moſt effectual means (*i*). The union of the two functions, of Maſter of

(*i*) In the London Gazette, N° 778, from Thurſday May 1ſt to Monday May 5th, [1673] appeared the following advertiſement:—

"The office of the Maſter of the Revels, void by the "death of Sir Henry Herbert, who deceaſed on the 27th of "April laſt, is now enjoyed by Thomas Killigrew, Eſqr. "one of the Grooms of his Majeſty's bedchamber, at whoſe "lodgings in Whitehall, any Perſon, or Perſons, may be in- "formed, where thoſe who had any licenſes from the ſaid Sir "Henry, or are otherwiſe concerned in the ſaid Office of "Maſter of the Revels, may make their applications for re- "newing of former, or taking out of new licenſes, or what "elſe relates unto the ſaid office."—This advertiſement was repeated in the Gazette N° 780.—And in N° 782, there was the following advertiſement, which was repeated in the Gazette N° 785.—"That all Juſtices of the Peace and others "his Majeſty's Officers, whom it may concern, do take care "that all perſons, that preſent publickly any playes, ſhowes, "or operations, upon any ſtage &c. may produce their li- "cenſe, under the hand and *ſeal*, of Thomas Killigrew, Eſqr. "now Maſter of the Revels; and in caſe they want ſuch li- "cenſes, that they be lay'd hold on, and the ſaid Mr. Killigrew "certified of the ſame."—The *ſeal*, or rather the *ſtamp* of Killigrew, as Maſter of the Revels, has come down to the preſent time. The *wooden block*, which formed this *ſtamp* has been retrieved by the active diſcernment of Mr. Douce, who kindly permitted me to have a new ſtamp made for a TAIL-PIECE to this Apology; thinking the impreſſion might gratify the lovers of the drama. The double eagle diſplayed, and the lion, are the arms, and creſt of the Killigrews. The legend is copied from the formal words of the ancient commiſſions to the Maſters of the Revels. See Carew's Cornwall. Ed. 1769, p. 150.

the Revels, and Manager of a Theatre, gave Killigrew a pretence to do miſchief, without any incitement to do good. He lived to ſee the two companies united, in 1682; after various accidents, from the plague, and fire, and ſeveral revolutions, from the changes of faſhion, Thomas Killigrew, died in March $168\frac{2}{3}$; and was buried, by his dying requeſt, in the vault under Weſtminſter-abbey; near his beloved wife, and his ſiſter, Lady Shannon (*k*). Denham has left a couplet, which acutely diſcriminates the faculties of two of the wittieſt men of that age:—

"Had *Cowley* ne'er *ſpoke*, *Killigrew* ne'er *writ*,
"Combin'd in one, they'd made a matchleſs wit."

After a while, the ſceptre of the Revels was delivered into the hand of Charles Killi-

(*k*) His will is dated on the 15th of March, and was proved in the prerogative-court, on the 19th of the ſame month, by his ſon, Heny, his executor, and reſiduary legatee. He left ſome houſes in Scotland-yard; and he ſpeaks of a penſion from the King, which may poſſibly have been an extra-ſalary, as Maſter of the Revels. He is ſaid, by the biographers, to have had two wives; but he ſpeaks in his will of only one beloved wife. In the will, there is no jeſt. Thomas Killigrew was uncle to Henry Bennet, the firſt Earl of Arlington, who ſucceeded the Earl of St. Albans, as Lord Chamberlain, on the 11th of September 1674. The conviviality of the one, and the power of the other, may have promoted each other's views.

grew.

grew. He was born, in 1650; but of what parentage, I could not learn, in the college of heralds. He was early in life appointed Gentleman Uſher to Queen Catherine, while Sir William Killigrew, the elder brother of the former Maſter of the Revels, was Vice-chamberlain to the ſame Queen. This coincidence of appointment and name ſhows a proximity of blood, and famineſs of intereſt. The unſucceſsful complaint of the King's company, againſt *Thomas* Killigrew, probably induced him to place *Charles* Killigrew at the head of his diſcontented troop, as their ſuperintendant. Charles Killigrew appeared, as the chief of that company, when they complained of Dryden about the year 1678, for his breach of (*l*) contract, in furniſhing *his goods*. Charles Killigrew was, afterwards, appointed Comptroller of the receipts and payments of the Receiver General of the Cuſtoms. He ſeems to have been too prudent a man to diſtinguiſh himſelf, like the other Killigrews, either as a writer, or a wit. But, he diligently attended to the diſcharge of his ſeveral truſts, and the accumulation of conſiderable wealth. He

(*l*) Steevens's Shak. vol. ii. p. 286.

died, in January 1725, when he had advanced to ſeventy-five (*m*) years of age.

Acting as Ruler of the Revels, during five reigns, he lived to ſee various changes of *many coloured life*. He probably exerciſed ſuch power only, from 1683 to 1689, as had been left him by his predeceſſor. But, *the Revolution* gave a new caſt to the ſeveral parts of our government; in the church; in the ſtate; and in our paſtimes. While the power of the King was ſoftened into influence, the authority of the Lord Chamberlain remained, without reſtriction, over the theatre; opening, and ſhutting, playhouſes; impriſoning, and liberating, players; correcting, and rejecting, plays: The ſcenic world looked up to the Lord Chamberlain, as the ſun of their ſyſtem. In their *heavens*, the Maſter of the Revels twinkled, only, as a ſtar of the lower order. Yet, this ſtar continued ſtill to have its influ-

(*m*) Charles Killigrew, who reſided in Somerſet-houſe, made his will on the 30th of May 1723; which was proved in the prerogative-office on the 4th of January $17\frac{24}{25}$ by his ſon Guilford, his executor. His wife Jemima, and his other ſon, Charles, ſurvived him. Among ſeveral manors, his reſident manſion was Thornham-hall in Suffolk; he had large ſums in the public ſtocks: And he had an intereſt in the patent of the theatre-royal, in Drury-lane; as appears by his will.

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ence in the revolutions of the drama. The aid of the Maſter of the Revels contributed greatly to the celebrated conqueſt, which COLLIER gained over the *immorality*, and *profaneneſs*, of the ſtage, at the concluſion of King William's reign. Even *modeſt* Cibber acknowledges, that "the Maſter of the Revels, who then *licenſed* "*all plays for the ſtage*, aſſiſted this reforma-"tion, with a more zealous ſeverity than "ever (*n*). This utility of the office ceaſed, however, on the acceſſion of George 1ſt; when a new patent, which was made out with as little caution, as any preceding grant of the ſame kind, was conferred on Sir Richard Steel, Colley Cibber, and their aſſociates; for acting plays, without ſubmitting them to the li-

(*n*) Apology 225: "He would ſtrike out," continues Cibber, "whole ſcenes of a vicious, or immoral character, "though it were viſibly ſhown to be reformed, or puniſh-"ed; a ſevere inſtance of this kind falling upon myſelf "may be an excuſe for my relating it: When *Richard the* "*third* (as I altered it from Shakſpeare) came from his "hands to the ſtage [1700] he expunged the whole firſt "act, without ſparing a line of it. He had an objection to "the whole act, and the reaſon he gave for it was, that the "diſtreſſes of King *Henry the ſixth*, who is killed by "*Richard*, in the firſt act, would put weak people too "much in mind of King *James* then living in France; a "notable proof of his zeal for the government!"—Well might Pope cry out, *modeſt* Cibber!

cenſe, or reviſion, of any officer. Charles Killigrew, as Maſter of the Revels, demanded his fee of forty ſhillings, on preſenting every new play. With affected independence of his authority, they refuſed his demand, and denied ſubmiſſion to his power. The patentees ſent Colley Cibber, as envoy-extraordinary, to negotiate an amicable ſettlement with the Sovereign of the Revels. It is amuſing to hear, how this flippant negotiator explained his own pretenſions, and attempted to invalidate the right of his opponent; as if a ſubſequent charter, under the great ſeal, could ſuperſede a preceding grant under the ſame authority. Charles Killigrew, who was now ſixty-five years of age, ſeems to have been oppreſſed by the inſolent civility of Colley Cibber. "And from that time," ſays the apologiſt for his own life, "neither our plays "or [nor] his fees, gave either of us any fur-"ther trouble (*o*)."

The unfortunate iſſue of this negotiation did not, it ſhould ſeem, make the office of Maſter of the Revels leſs deſirable, though it was certainly leſs profitable, and important. On the 25th of June 1725, Charles Henry Lee was placed on the diſputed throne (*p*).

(*o*) Apology, p. 227-8. (*p*) Hiſt. Regiſter.

During

During his reign of nineteen years, the new ruler exercised such authority, as was not opposed, and received such fees, as were willingly paid. And, in January 1744, he died, as obscurely, as he had (*q*) lived; leaving a *minor* widow, without children.

It was during his feeble government, that an event occurred, which formed a new epoch in dramatic story. Then it was, that the act for *licensing the stage* was passed (*r*). The origin of this salutary measure has been traced up to various sources:—To the acting of *Pasquin* at the Haymarket-theatre, without a license, by Henry Fielding; in opposition to custom, and in defiance of power (*s*): To a Farce, called the *Golden Rump*; which, having been brought to Gifford, the master of the

(*q*) I have not seen his death mentioned in the printed registers. But, on the 24th of January 1744, administration was granted of the effects of Charles Henry Lee to Elizabeth D'Aranda, widow, the mother, and curatrix, assigned to Martha Lee, the widow of the deceased, for the use of the minor-widow. [Minute-book in the prerogative-office.]

(*r*) 10 Geo. 2. ch. 28, which took place on the 24th of June 1737. This act was extended to houses and gardens of entertainment, which, in future were not to be kept without a license. [25 Geo. 2. ch. 36. § 2.]

(*s*) Cibber's Apology, 231: Biog. Dram. Introd. xli.

theatre

theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields, was by him carried to the proper magiſtrate; thinking it a (*t*) libel, or *a trap*. Theſe occurrences were probably the oſtenſible, rather than the real, cauſes, which produced that parliamentary regulation. The fact is, that Sir John Barnard, on the 5th of March 1734-5, moved the Houſe of Commons, for leave to introduce a bill, for reſtraining the number of playhouſes, and for regulating common players. As he was ſupported by all parties, his motion paſſed unanimouſly. But, the bill was no ſooner introduced, than it was relinquiſhed; "when a "clauſe was propoſed for enlarging the power "of the Lord Chamberlain, with regard to "licenſing plays (*u*)." The Lord Chamberlain's power had been long exerted, with capricious irregularity; his real authority had been felt; but when that power drew on it

(*t*) Timberland's Debates, 1742. vol. v. p. 211: And ſee the article of *The Golden Rump*, in the Biog. Dram. vol. ii.

(*u*) Chandler's Debates, vol. ix. p. 93-4: It was ſaid, in the Houſe of Commons, on that occaſion, that there were then no fewer than ſix playhouſes; "The opera-houſe, the "French playhouſe in the Haymarket, and the theatres in "Covent-garden, Drury-lane, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and "Goodman's-fields; and that theſe were double the num-"ber, which, at the ſame time, exiſted in Paris."

the

the eye of jealouſy, it was found to be unequal to the uſeful purpoſe of ſcenic ſuperintendance: And, the imprudence of former grants to theatrical managers was, probably, now recollected with official regret.

Owing to all thoſe cauſes, the *bill for licenſing the ſtage*, though under a different name, was, on the 21ſt June 1737, haſtily paſſed, after various debates, which diſcloſed little information about the hiſtory of the theatre: It was argued, without contradiction, that a power was to be given by it to the Lord Chamberlain, which he had never exerciſed, during the exiſtence of his dramatic government, from the firſt regulations of Elizabeth, to the introduction of this neceſſary law. The ſpeech, which Lord Cheſterfield made againſt that unpopular, but uſeful, meaſure, has been, ſingly, *put by Time into his wallet, as alms for oblivion*. During thoſe debates, it was forgotten, that a period never exiſted, when the ſtage was not ſubject to ſuperintendance; when players were not licenſed; when plays were not reviewed and corrected, allowed or rejected. The wiſe regulations of Elizabeth, for allowing the uſe, but correcting the abuſe, of the ſtage, were equally forgotten; though ſhe had been adviſed by Walſingham, and aſ-

ſiſted

fisted by Burghley. The facts, which I have detailed through every reign, evince, with sufficient conviction, that this act of parliament merely restored to the Lord Chamberlain the ancient authority, which he possessed, before the appointment of the Master of the Revels; armed him with legal power, in the place of customary privilege; and enabled him to execute, by warrantable means, the useful, but invidious trusts, which experience had long required, and policy at length conferred. Nor, was this the first time, that the parliament exercised its legislative authority over the stage, from its infancy under Henry 8th, to its manhood under George 2nd (*v*). This licensing act, however, neither noticed, nor alluded to the Master of the Revels, any more than if he had not existed. Having neither licensed players, from the days of Sir Henry

(*v*) In 1543, the 34-5 Hen. 8. ch. 1. was passed for "purging the kingdom of all *religious* plays, interludes, "rhymes, ballads, and songs, which were *pestiferous* to the "common-weal:"—The 39 Eliz. ch. 4. which was explained by 1 Ja. 1. ch. 7. and 7 Ja. 1. ch. 4, gave a very extensive jurisdiction over players.—The 3 Ja. 1. ch. 21. imposed a penalty on any person, profanely using the name of God in a play.—The 1 Cha. 1. ch. 21. prohibited plays on the Lord's day.—And the long-parliament suppressed playhouses and players. [Scobell, 1647—97—106—109.]

Herbert,

Herbert, nor reviewed plays, ſubſequent to Colley Cibber's polite altercation with Charles Killigrew, the Maſter of the Revels ſeems, like more *mighty potentates*, to have been *grated to duſty nothing*.

At this epoch, Charles, Duke of Grafton, was Lord Chamberlain. A new arrangement now became neceſſary, for executing his renovated power: And, William Chetwynd, who had been envoy at Genoa, during the reign of Queen Anne, was, in April 1738, ſworn in *Licenſer of the Stage*, with a ſalary of four hundred pounds a year; while Thomas Odell, a perſon, who is better known in theatrical annals, was named his deputy; with a yearly allowance of two hundred pounds (*w*). Yet, in April 1744, Solomon Dayrolle was appointed Maſter of the Revels, in the room of the deceaſed Charles Lee, though nothing ſeemed now to remain, either of power, or of profit, but the ancient fee of £. 10, which had been uſually paid at the Exchequer, and a lodging. As this office was no longer recorded in the red-book, nor looked at in St. Stephen's chapel, with envious eyes, it ſeems to

(*w*) In the Biog. Dramatica, there is a good account of Odell, who held this invidious office, till his death, in May 1749.

have

have eſcaped notice, at the great epoch of the ſuppreſſion of offices (*x*). The Maſter of the Revels, however, when he looked up from his ſtate of degradation to the pre-eminence of the Lord Chamberlain, might have repeated what was ſaid by the tribune, Brutus, when *the blear'd ſights were ſpectacled* to ſee Coriolanus enter Rome:—

" Then, our office may,
" During his power, go ſleep."

Such was the early origin, the irregular progreſs, and the obſcure demiſe of the Maſter of the Revels! And, this theatrical deduction, the believers beg leave to ſubmit to the *conſiderate eyes* of this court, as a ſupplemental apology, for their imputed ignorance of the hiſtory of the ſtage. Yet, ſuch is the activity of the public accuſer's pleaſure, or revenge, that he not only proſecutes them, in his waking hours, but, when *he dreams*, his *wall-ey'd wrath* inſiſts, " that each of theſe " *credulous partiſans* of *folly* and *impoſture* " ſhould remain—*Sacred to ridicule his whole* " *life long* (*y*)." Though *dreams are the chil-*

(*x*) In 1782, by the 22 Geo. 3. ch. 82. Mr. Dayrolle, who ſtill retained his ſtation, died in 1786, and was ſucceeded in his degraded office by John Charles Crowle, who did not thereby enjoy either the gratification of power, or the benefits of profit.

(*y*) Inquiry, pp. 355—366.

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dren of an idle brain; yet, *for this once*, I *will be ſquared by his ſhadow of a dream:* And, accordingly, with the leave of this court, I will ſuperadd, what is not unprecedented in his own practice, *An Appendix* to this *Supplemental Apology*:—

" ——— For, pleaſure, and revenge,
" Have ears more deaf, than adders, to the voice
" Of any *true deciſion*."

—— § XI. ——

OF THE STUDIES OF SHAKSPEARE.

On opening Mr. Malone's *attempt to aſcertain the order, in which the plays of Shakſpeare were written*, we may obſerve the Inquirer's lamentation that, " after the moſt diligent in-" quiries very few particulars have been re-" covered of Shakſpeare's private life, or lite-" rary hiſtory." Amidſt this penury of information, and regret of criticiſm, every notice, which can illuſtrate his *literary hiſtory*, ought to be ſedulouſly ſought for, and attentively conſidered. Where he ſtudied, who inſtructed him, and what he read, are inquiries, that have ſometimes been made, without obtaining very diſtinct anſwers. The great controverſy hitherto has been about *the learning* of Shak-

ſpeare, without much inquiry about his *philology*, or his *knowledge*. The conteſt about his *learning* is cloſed for ever. The means, whereby this atchievement was performed, chiefly conſiſted, in producing *tranſlations* of the various claſſics, to which he alluded; and in reaſoning, that Shakſpeare probably read ſuch tranſlations, as he might have read them. The ſame means, and the ſame argument, I deſign to uſe, in the little, that I have to ſay about the Studies of Shakſpeare.

It was in the free-ſchool of Stratford-upon-Avon, that Shakſpeare probably learned his *ſmall Latin*, and *leſs Greek*. It is of full as much importance to inveſtigate, whence he derived his knowledge of the Engliſh language, his *exchequer of words*; the *ſtyle*, *which is never to become obſolete*; the coloquy, *which is above groſſneſs* and *below refinement*, where *propriety reſides*: And, whence he formed that poetic diction, which, among his other excellencies, invites every reader to ſtudy Shakſpeare, as one of the original maſters of our language (*a*). It ought, moreover, to be remembered, that, as early as 1598, Shakſpeare was diſtinguiſhed, among the poets, who had *mightily enriched the Engliſh tongue, and gor-*

(*a*) Johnſon's Preface.

geouſly

geously inveſted it in rare ornaments, and reſplendent habiliments (*b*).

Fruitleſs it, probably, would be, to ſearch for "the A-B-C-book," which Shakſpeare, *while he yet prattl'd poeſie*, was taught by—

"———— the matron old,
"Who boaſts unruly brats with birch to tame (*c*)."

When this extraordinary genius was entered in the *free-ſchool* of Stratford, the maſter could be at no loſs for philological *inſtitutes*. The grammar, which Henry the 8th had directed to be uſed, generally, in ſuch ſchools would, no doubt, continue to be taught in the country, long after particular ſeminaries had

(*b*) Wits Commonwealth, 1598, p. 619.

(*c*) There was, indeed, printed for Lant, in 1547, The A, B, C, with the Paternoſter, Ave, Creede, and Ten Commandments, in Englyſhe, newly tranſlated and ſet forth at the Kinges moſt gracyous commaundment: It begins with five different alphabets.—In 1552, John Day had a licenſe to print the Catechiſm, which Edward the 6th had cauſed to be ſet forth.—In 1553, Day printed "A ſhort "Catechiſme, or playne inſtruction, conteyning the ſume of "Chriſtian learninge, ſett foorth by the Kings Majeſtie's "authoritie, for all Scholemaiſters to teache." There was prefixed *an injunction* to *all teachers of youthe* to teach this catechiſme in their ſchooles.—In 1570, Day printed a *Catechiſme*, or firſt inſtruction and learning of Chriſtian Religion: Tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſhe. It was dedicated to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops.

adopted the inſtitutes of their founders: As Woolſey's *Rudimenta* (*d*) *Grammatices*, in his ſchool at Ipſwich; and Collet's grammar, in the ſeminary of his foundation, in St. Paul's-churchyard. There ſeems to be, indeed, poſitive proof, that *Lilly* was the inſtructor of Shakſpeare, in the Latin language, at ſome period of his life (*e*). So much had the claſſic languages been cultivated, from the revival of learning till the epoch of our poet's birth, that ſuch a learner as Shakſpeare could eaſily gratify his curioſity, ſtore his memory, and improve his intellect: Grammars and dictionaries; the artes of rhetorick and criticiſm; treatiſes of logick and moral philoſophy; had all been publiſhed by eminent maſters. The polite languages of the neigbouring continent had been familiarized to the ſtudents of England (*f*). Shakſpeare had alſo a fair opportunity

(*d*) This curious grammar was printed in 1536.

(*e*) Mal. Shak. vol. iii. p. 263; in which it is ſhown, by Johnſon, Farmer, and Steevens, that the poet had borrowed from the grammarian, and not from Terence. The *Floures for Latine Spekyng*, printed by Berthelet, in 1538, p. 35 b, ſtrengthens their ſentiment; by proving, that Shakſpeare had not drawn his *latinity* from this fountain.

(*f*) I will here ſubjoin ſuch *a Liſt* of *Grammars, Dictionaries*,

tunity of acquiring a ſlight knowledge of the Britiſh

naries, and *Artes of Rhetorique*, as Shakſpeare probably might have uſed, either when a boy, or a man:

1537—Certain brief rules of the regiment or conſtruction of the eight partes of Speche in Engliſh and Latin. It has no author's name, but is joined with a piece of Taverners. 8vo.

1544—An Introduction of the eight partes of Speche and the conſtruction of the ſame, compyled and ſet forthe by the Commaundement of our moſt gracious Soueraygne Lorde the Kyng. 4to.

1557—A ſhort introduction of Grammar generallie to be uſed. Compiled and ſet forth, for the bringyng up of all thoſe that intend to attaine the knowledge of the Latin Tongue.—Imprinted again in 1569;—and again in 1577.

1559—Lilly's Latin Grammar.—The 2nd edition in 1564.

1562—An Orthographie contaynynge the due Order and Reaſon how to write or paint th'image of mannis voice moſt like to the life or nature. Compoſed By J[ohn] H[art] Cheſter Heralt.

1571—The Scholemaſter: Or plaine and perfite way of teaching Children, to underſtand, write, and ſpeak, the Latin tong.—By Roger Aſcham:—The 2nd edition in 1589.

1574—The Engliſh Schoolmaſter, ſet forth by James Bellot for teaching of Strangers to pronounce Engliſh.

1580—Bullokars Booke at large for the Amendment of Orthographie for Engliſh Speech: wherein a moſt perfect ſupply is made for the wantes and double ſounde of letters in the Olde Orthographie, with examples for the ſame. Imprinted again in 1586.

1582—The firſt part of the Elementarie, which entreateth

Britiſh tongue, which, in that age, had its grammars,

chiefly of the right writing of our Engliſh Tongue. —By Richard Mulcaſter.

1585—The Latin Grammar of P. Ramus, Tranſlated into Engliſh.

1590—A Grammar with a Dictionary, in three languages, gathered out of divers good Authors, very profitable for the ſtudious of the Spaniſh Tongue. By R. Percivall.

1594—Grammatica Anglicana, præcipuè quatenus à Latina Differt, ad Unicam P. Rami methodum concinnata. Authore P. G.—Cantab. Ex officina. J. Legatt.

1538—The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Elliot Knyght: declaring Latin by Engliſh. In 1545, Bibliotheca Eliotæ, Latine, et Anglicè.—The 2nd edition enriched by Cooper, in 1552.—Again by Cooper, in 1559. The 4th edit. in 1565. The 5th edit. in 1573.

1552—Abecedarium Anglico Latinum, pro tyrunculis, Richardo Huloeto excriptore.—Reprinted and enlarged in 1572, and entitled Huloet's Dictionary &c.

1558—The Short Dixtionary.

1559—A Little Dictionary compiled by J. Withals.—The 2nd edition imprinted by Wykes in 1568.—The 3d in 1572, entitled A ſhorte Dictionarie moſt profitable for yong beginners, the ſecond tyme corrected and augmented with diverſe Phraſys and other thinges neceſſarie thereunto added.—By Lewys Evans. It was again reprinted for Evans, in 1579.

1562

grammars, and dictionaries. It is, however, more

1562—The brefe Dyxcyonary.

1575—Veron's Dictionary, Latin, and Engliſh.—Again in 1584, entitled A Dictionarie in Latine and Engliſh, heretofore ſet forth by Maſter John Veron, and now newlie corrected and enlarged, for the utilitie and profit of all yoong ſtudents in the Latine toong as by further ſearch they ſhall find:—By R. W.

1580—An Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionarie, containing foure ſundrie tongues: namelie, Engliſh, Latine, Greeke, and French. Newlie enriched with varietie of wordes, phraſes, proverbs, and divers lightſome obſervations of Grammar: — By J. Baret.

1589—Rider's Dictionary, Latine, and Engliſh.

1592—A Dictionary, Geographicall, Aſtronomicall, and Poeticall —Imprinted by Wolfe.

1567—Saleſbury's Welſh Grammar.

1593—Grammatica Britannica in uſum ejus linguæ ſtudioſorum ſuccincta methodo et perſpicuitate facili conſcripta; & nunc primum in lucem edita: Henrico Saleſburio, Denbighienſi Autore.

1595—Parry's Welſh Grammar.

1547—A Dictionary in Engliſh and Welſh, moche neceſſary for all ſuche Welſhemen, as wil ſpedily learne the Englyſhe tongue &c, whereunto is prefixed a little treatyſe of the Engliſh pronounciation of the letters: By Wyllyam Saleſbury.

1560—A Treatyſe Engliſh and French right neceſſarye and profitable for all young Children.

1560—Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar &c, Newly

more than probable, that he did not embrace this

corrected and imprinted by Wykes:—And again in 1567.

1561—The Italian Grammar and Dictionary: By W. Thomas.

1578—Lentulo's Italian Grammar, put into Engliſh: By Hy. Grentham:—And again in 1587.

1590—A Spaniſh Grammar &c. By Thomas D'Oyley.

1590—Bibliotheca Hiſpanica, cõtayning a Gramar, with a Dictionary in three languages, gathered &c. By R. Percivall.—Reprinted again in 1591.—Again in 1592.—And again in 1599.

1593—A Dictionary, French, and Engliſh: By Claudius Hollyband.

1598—A Worlde of Wordes, Or moſt copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and Engliſh: collected by John Florio.

1532—The Arts or Crafe of Rhetoryche:—By Leonard Cockes.

1547—A Treatiſe of Moral Philoſophy:—By Wm. Baldweyn. The 2nd edit. imprinted in 1550:—The 3d edit. in 1560.

1548—The Art of Memory, or The Phœnix.

1552—The rule of reaſon conteining the Arte of Logique. Set forth in Engliſh, and newely corrected by Thomas Wilſon. Reprinted in 1567.

1553—The Art of Rhetorique, for the uſe of all ſuch as are ſtudious of Eloquence, ſet forth in Engliſh, by Thomas Wilſon: and newly ſet forth again in 1567.—and Imprinted by George Robinſon in 1585.

1555—A Treatiſe of the Figures of Grammar and Rhetorike,

this opportunity, even to gain a knowledge of the energies of the Britiſh alphabet (*g*).

But, our *maternal Engliſh* remained unformed, and uncultivated, when Shakſpeare began *to liſp in numbers*; *for the numbers came*: Yet, while he was ſtill *a freſh and*

rike, profitable for al that be ſtudious of Eloquence, and in eſpeciall for ſuche as in Grammer Scholes doe reade moſte eloquente Poetes, and Oratours.

1563—A booke called the Foundation of Rhetoricke, becauſe all other partes of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon, every parte ſet forth in an Oracion upon queſtions, verie profitable to bee knowen and redde: By Richard Rainolde.

1593—Arcadian Rhetorike, or The Precepts of Rhetoricke, made plaine by examples Greeke, Latyne, Engliſhe, Italyan, Frenche, and Spaniſhe. By Abr. Fraunce.

1599—The Arte of Logick, plainly taught in the Engliſh Tongue: By Blundvill.

(*g*) This will appear, by comparing Saleſbury's Welſh Grammar, 1567, with the language of Sir Hugh Evans, and Captain Fluellen: Go*t* for God, goo*t* for good: Now, the Engliſhmen, and Welſhmen, pronounced the *d* exactly in the ſame manner: *P*ribbles—*p*rabbles, *p*eat for *b*eat: Now, the genius of the Welſh does not admit of the converting of the *b* into *p*, though it allows, in compoſition, the converting of the *p* into *b*: Theſe, then, were egregious blunders, which proceeded from compleat ignorance of the Welſh grammar. The object, however, of the dramatiſt was to create laughter by blunder, and mimickry.

ſtainleſs youth, its genius was diligently examined, its rules were more clearly aſcertained, and both its deformities, and beauties, were elaborately diſplayed. In the Engliſh language, Shakſpeare appears to have been a diligent ſtudent. How much our poet had ſtudied it, before he came out upon the ſtage, appears from the accuracy, the elegance, and ſplendour of his diction, though it be *mellowed by the ſtealing hours of time*. He wrote the language of his country, as it was then ſpoken, and written, without affecting the antique, or aſpiring to *terms italianate* (*b*).

(*b*) I will ſupport that ſentiment by a few examples: Shakſpeare has *canker'd* Bolingbroke; *canker'd* country: Lyly's *Euphues*, 581, p. 7, ſays that, Naples is a *canker'd* ſtorehouſe of all ſtrife.—Queen Elizabeth and Burleigh, in their Declaration of the Cauſes for ſupporting the Netherlands againſt Spain, which was printed by Barker in 1585, ſay: "However malicious tongues may utter their *cankered* "conceits to the contrary."—Shakſpeare has the *Countie* Paris. Q. Elizabeth and Burleigh ſay, in the ſame Declaration, "of the chiefeſt of the nobilitie none was more af-"fected to the religion than the valiant *Countie* of Egmond." Shakſpeare ſays "the play pleaſed not *the million*:" In the council-regiſters of that age, I have ſeen the ſame expreſſion of *the million* for *the many*. And, as an authority, ſee the *Chauceriana*, which are annexed to the *Grammatica Anglicana*, 1594, for a choice collection of poetical words, which as they are now obſolete, only obſcure the pages of Shakſpeare, which they formerly illumed.

Shakſpeare

Shakſpeare was carried by Rowe from the free-ſchool, " where it is probable he ac-" quired what Latin he was maſter of;" and was placed, at home, as an aſſiſtant to his father, who from his narrow circumſtances, and increaſing family, required the help of ſuch a ſon: Mr. Malone places the aſpiring poet " in the office of ſome country attorney, or " the ſeneſchal of ſome manor court (*i*):" and, for this violation of probability, he produces many paſſages from his dramas to evince Shakſpeare's *technical ſkill* in *the forms of law*; although our commentator admits, " that the " comprehenſive mind of our poet embraced " almoſt every object of nature, every art, the " manners of every deſcription of men, and " the general language of almoſt every profeſ-" ſion (*k*)." But, was it not the practice of the times, for other *makers*, like the bees, *tolling from every flower the virtuous ſweets*, to gather from the *thiſtles* of the law *the ſweeteſt honey?* Does not Spenſer gather many a *metaphor* from *theſe weeds*, that are moſt apt to grow in *fatteſt ſoil?* Has not Spenſer his *law terms:* His *capias*, *defeaſance*, and *dureſſe*; his *emparlance*; his *enure*, *eſſoyne*, and *eſcheat*; his *folkmote*, *foreſtall*, and *gage*; his

(*i*) Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 104. (*k*) Ib. 306-7.

livery

livery and ſeaſin, *wage*, and *waif* (*l*). It will be ſaid, however, that whatever the *learning* of Spenſer may have gleaned, the law-books of that age were impervious to the illiterature of Shakſpeare. No: ſuch an intellect, when employed on the drudgery of a woolſtapler, who had been *high-bailiff* of Stratford-upon-Avon, might have derived all that was neceſſary from a very few books: From Totell's *Preſidents*, (*m*) 1572; from Pulton's Statutes, (*n*) 1578; and from the Lawier's Logike, 1588 (*o*). It is one of the axioms of the *Flores Regii*, that, *To anſwere an improbable imagination is to fight againſt a vaniſhing ſhadow.*

(*l*) See the Gloſſary to Spenſer's Works, 1788.

(*m*) "A Booke of Preſidents exactly written in maner "of a Regiſter, newly corrected, with additions of divers "neceſſary Preſidents, meete for al ſuch, as deſire to learne "the fourme and maner howe to make all maner of evi-"dences and inſtruments." The *Preſidents* were printed both in Latin and Engliſh, which was the moſt commodious form for *ſuch a ſcholar*.

(*n*) An Abſtract of all the Penal Statutes, which be general in force and uſe: Moreover the auᵗhoritie and dutie of all Juſtices of Peace, Sherriffes, Coroners, Maiors, *Bailiffes*, Cuſtomers, Comptrollers of Cuſtome, Stewardes of Leets and Liberties, Aulnegers, and Purveyours.

(*o*) The Lawier's Logike, exemplifying the præcepts of Logike by the practiſe of the Common Law; by Abraham Fraunce.

Neither

Neither the forms of law, however, repreſſed the genius of Shakſpeare; nor have the follies of criticiſm yet obſcured the ſplendour of his muſe: As he was born a poet, we may eaſily preſume, that he began early to indulge his natural propenſity. Mr. Malone has remarked what I think is likely to be true, that *the ſugr'd ſonnets* are among the earlieſt of our poet's labours. There is *a date* in the one hundred and fourth ſonnet, which, when it ſhall be explained by other dates, will lead to important information about his firſt journey to London, and his ſubſequent career, as a public writer:—

" To me, fair friend, you never can be old:
" For, as you were, when firſt your eye I ey'd;
" Such ſeems your beauty ſtill. *Three winters'* cold
" Have from the foreſts ſhook *three ſummers'* pride;
" *Three* beauteous *ſprings* to yellow autumn turn'd;
" In proceſs of the ſeaſons have I ſeen;
" *Three* April perfumes in *three* hot Junes burn'd;
" Since *firſt* I ſaw you freſh, which yet are green."

Three years elapſed, then, from Shakſpeare's firſt arrival at London, when he firſt ſaw the ſweet *hue* of Elizabeth, till the writing of the ſonnets, which were wrote to *no other paſs, than of her graces and her gifts to tell.* But, the poet himſelf calls his *Venus and Adonis*, which was certainly written before April

April 1593, and publiſhed, probably, in 1594, *the firſt heir of his invention*. It was, however, the *Rape of Lucrece*, which firſt gained him public celebration, as ſoon as it appeared: And, it was in *Willobie's Aviſa*, that Shakſpeare was thus celebrated in verſes, which, as they ſeem to have eſcaped the commentators, when they were ſearching for encomiaſtic poetry, are here ſubjoined (*p*):

In Lauine Land though Liuie boſt,
There hath beene ſeene a conſtant dame:
Though Rome lament that ſhe have loſt
The Gareland of her rareſt fame,
Yet now we ſee, that there is found,
As great a faith in Engliſh ground.

Though Collatine have deerely bought,
To high renowne, a laſting life,
And found, that moſt in vain have ſought,
To have a faire, and conſtant wife,
Yet Tarquyne pluckt his gliſtering grape,
And *Shake-ſpeare* paints poore Lucrece rape.

(*p*) Willobie his *Aviſa* [*A*mans. *V*xor. *I*nviolata. *S*emper. *A*manda] was imprinted by Windet, in 1594. The manner, in which Windet printed our poet's name, *Shake-ſpeare*, ſhows clearly how this celebrated appellation was, in his own age, pronounced Shake-ſpeare, with a lengthened tone, and not *Shack*ſpere, with a ſnappiſh ſhortneſs: The verſes in praiſe of Shakſpeare, which were written, as I conjecture, by Hadrian Dorrel, the editor of Willobie's Aviſa, are, therefore, doubly curious.

Though

Though Sufan ſhine in faithfull praiſe,
As twinckling Starres in Chriſtall Skie,
Penelop's fame though Greekes do raiſe,
Of faithfull wives to make up three,
To thinke the truth, and ſay no leſſe,
Our Auiſa ſhall make a meſſe.

This number knits ſo ſure a knot,
Time doubtes, that ſhe ſhall adde no more,
Unconſtant nature hath begot,
Of Fleting Feemes, ſuch fickle ſtore,
Two thouſand yeares have ſcarcely ſeene,
Such as the worſt of theſe have beene.

Then Aui-Sufan joyne in one,
Let Lucres-Auis be thy name,
This Engliſh Eagle ſores alone,
And farre ſurmounts all others fame,
Where high or low, where great or ſmall,
This Brytan Bird out-flies them all.

Were theſe three happie, that have found,
Brave Poets, to depaint there praiſe?
Of Rurall Pipe, with ſweeteſt ſound,
That have been heard theſe many daies,
Sweete Willoby his Avis bleſt,
That makes her mount above the reſt.

We can now aſcertain, though not with abſolute preciſion, the appearance of this *glorious ſtar*, in the poetical heavens (*q*). Puttenham did

(*q*) When diſcuſſing the queſtion about the firſt appearance of Shakſpeare, in the ſcenic world, Mr. Malone aſſerts: [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 130.] "Coaches, in the time of "Queen Elizabeth were poſſeſſed but by very few. They were "not

did not distinguish Shakspeare, when he published his *Arte of English Poesie*, in 1589, as Mr. Malone has, indeed, remarked. Our poet was obscurely noticed in 1592. He was hailed by the voice of gratulation, in 1594. And, before the effluxion of 1598, Shakspeare was acknowledged, by the suffrages of his countrymen, to be among them, the *most excellent* dramatist in *both kinds*; *for Commedy, and for Tragedy*, if we may rely on the declaration of Meres, in his *Wits Commonwealth*, which has, indeed, been confirmed by subsequent experience. And, it is surely natural to inquire by what artifices of study Shakspeare obtained this pre-eminence over very powerful competitors.

We have seen what grammars probably instructed his infancy; what dictionaries assisted his youth; and what treatises of criticism improved his manhood. It is, indeed, more than probable, that Shakspeare had studied,

" riot in ordinary use till after the year 1605. See Stowe's " Annals, p. 867." Yet; see the *Lords Journals*, vol. ii. p. 229; on the 7th of November 1601, a bill was introduced " to restrain the *excessive* and *superfluous use of coaches*, " within this realm." Thus it is, when the blind follow the blind! Marston says, in his *Cynicke Satire*, 1599:

" Peace cynick, see what yonder doth approach,
" A cart? a tumbrell? no a *badged* coach."

with

with great attention, Wilſon's *Art of Rhetorique*, which was publiſhed, for the *third time*, in 1585. It is ſufficiently known to the readers of Shakſpeare, that he had unbounded curioſity, from nature, and vigilance of obſervation, from habit: And, it was natural for ſuch a poet, who early felt the ambition of authorſhip, to inſpect, and to ſtudy, the *Art of Rhetorique*, which was popularly known, while his inquiſitive mind was on the wing. From this fountain of knowledge, both hiſtorical, and critical, ſuch an intellect muſt neceſſarily have quaffed abundant draughts of inſtruction; both of ancient lore, and modern attainments: In it, he muſt have ſeen, as in a *ſpecious mirror*, the whole miſtery of writing, the good, exemplified, and the bad, exploded. In the *Art of Rhetorique*, he alſo ſaw characters pourtrayed, which as a dramatiſt, he muſt have viewed with pleaſure, and recollected with advantage: Herein, he muſt have ſeen *Tymon of* (*r*)

(*r*) Art of Ret. 1585, p. 56: *Tymon a deadly hater of all Company:* "Now, I thinke he is moſt worthie to bee de-
" ſpiſed above all other, that is borne, as a man would ſay,
" for himſelf, that liveth to himſelf, that ſpareth for himſelf,
" that loveth no man, and no man loveth him. Would
" not one think, that ſuch a monſter were meet to be caſt
" out of all men's companie (with *Tymon* that careth for no
" man) into the middeſt of the ſea."

Athens,

Athens, and the *Pedantick Magiſtrate* (*s*): He, herein, diſcovered *the character*; but he found, in his own invention, *the conſtable*: He now became acquainted with *the mayor*; but he afterwards ſhook hands with *Dogberry* at Credenton.

In the ſame manner, it is more than probable, that Shakſpeare had diligently ſtudied *Aſcham's Scholemaſter*, which muſt have ſupplied ſuch an intellect with ſome claſſical knowledge, and ſuch an intuitive diſcernment with much critical remark. The preface opens with Aſcham's thankful recollection of the converſation, which he had heard, in 1563, at Lord Burleigh's table, when dining with him, at Windſor, in company with Sir William Peter, Sir John Maſon, Dr. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville, Mr. Haddon, Mr. John Aſtley, Mr. Bernard Hampton, and Mr. Nicaſius. Mr. Secretarie, as his wont was, on ſuch occaſions, to lay aſide *ſtate-affairs*, opened

(*s*) Art of Ret. p. 167: "Another good fellowe of the "countrey, being an *officer* and *mayor* of a toune, and de- "ſirous to ſpeak like a fine learned man, having juſt oc- "caſion to rebuke a runnegate fellowe, ſaid after this wiſe, "in a greate heate: — Thou *yngraine* and *vacation* "knave, if I take thee any more within the *circumciſion* of "my *dampnation*; I will ſo *corrupt* thee, that all other *vaca-* "*tion* knaves ſhall take *illſample* by thee."

the

the converſation, at dinner, by ſaying: He had ſtrange news brought him that morning, " that diverſe ſchollers of Eaton, be runne awai from the ſchole, for fear of beating:" Whereupon, Mr. Secretarie tooke occaſion to wiſhe, that ſome more diſcretion were in many ſcholemaſters, in uſing correction than commonlie there is: who, many times, puniſhe rather the weaknes of nature, than the fault of the ſcholer.—Mr. Peter, as one ſomewhat ſevere of nature, ſaid plainlie, that the rodde onlie was the ſworde, that muſt keep the ſchole in obedience, and the ſcholer in good order. Mr. Wotton, a man milde of nature, ſaid the ſcholehouſe ſhould be in deede, as it is called by name, the houſe of play and pleaſure, and not of feare and bondage. Mr. Maſon, after his maner, was verie merie with both parties; pleaſeantlie playing, both with the ſhrowde touches of many courſte boys, and with the ſmall diſcretion of many leude ſcholemaſters. Mr. Haddon was fullie of Mr. Peter's opinion; and ſaid, that the beſt ſcholemaſter of our time (naming him) was the greateſt beater. Aſcham now gave his own opinion, being courteſlie provoked by Mr. Secretarie: Though it was the good fortune of that ſcholemaſter to ſend from his

ſchole unto the univerſitie one of the beſt ſcholers of our time, yet wiſe men do thinke, that this was rather owing to the great towardnes of the ſcholer than the great beating of the maſter: For, yong children are ſoner alured by love, than driven by beating, to atteyne good learning."

Does not this converſation at Burleigh's dinner bring to our recollection the celebrated table-talk of Shakſpeare? The fifth act of *Love's Labours Loſt* opens with the entry, after dinner, of Holofernes, the ſchoolmaſter, Sir Nathaniel, and Dull: I praiſe God for you, Sir, ſays Nathaniel to Holofernes: Your reaſons [diſcourſe] at dinner have been ſharp, and ſententious; pleaſant, without ſcurrility; witty, without affectation; audacious, [ſpirited] without impudency; learned, without opinion; and ſtrange, without hereſy. Of this *finiſhed repreſentation of colloquial excellence*, Johnſon remarks that, it is very difficult to add anything to this character of the ſchoolmaſter's table-talk; and perhaps all the precepts of Caſtiglione will ſcarcely be found to comprehend a rule for converſation, ſo juſtly delineated, ſo widely dilated, and ſo nicely limited (*t*).

(*t*) Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. v. p. 301.

Weighing

Weighing all circumſtances, I have perſuaded myſelf that, when Shakſpeare drew his *finiſhed repreſentation* of *colloquial excellence*, he had in his *mind's-eye* the converſation at Burleigh's table, by the moſt learned, and able, men, in England. The character of Holofernes was probably drawn by Shakſpeare from the notion, which he had formed, in reading the Scholemaſter of Aſcham, who had been dead upwards of twenty years. It was not, conſequently, drawn from the poet's enmity to Florio, as Warburton inſiſts, in *his own ſtyle*. In diſcuſſing this opinion, Mr. Malone doubts, whether the *firſt* edition of Florio's *Worlde of Words*, which was dedicated to Lord Southampton, *during his travels*, were publiſhed, in 1598: But, this doubt, merely aroſe, from not knowing, in what year his Lordſhip had travelled, though our critic had publiſhed anecdotes of his life.

From the talk of Holofernes, thus learned, without opinion, and ſtrange, without hereſy, we may perceive the ſentiments of Shakſpeare, with regard to language; that he *abhorred the rackers of orthography*; and regarded innovations in our ſpeech, as *abhominable inſanie*. Spenſer avowed the ſame opinions, in his *Three Proper Letters*, which Shakſpeare had

probably perused. It is curious to remark, that two of the greatest poets, in any age, should, in the same manner, have concurred, in abhorring the rackers of orthography, and in ridiculing innovators of their *maternal English*. Shakspeare, like a wise man, frequently avows his dislike of innovation, and his contempt for innovators. It is to be observed, however, that those illustrious *makers* did not always practise their own precepts, with rigid attention to a salutary principle.

When Shakspeare had thus settled his style, which proceeded partly from the vigour of his own imagination, and formed his taste, which he improved, by reading the *Artes of Poesie* of Webbe, and of Puttenham, the *Grammatica Anglicana* would come too late, in 1594, to show him what he had already found, or to teach him what he even then knew. But, this rare book, as it contains a *Chauceriana*, does not come too late even, in 1796, to clear some obscurities in Shakspeare, which arise more from our forgetfulness of the language of our fathers, than to his inattention to the usage, and idiom, of his own times. And, these *Chauceriana*, as they consist of a collection of poetical expressions, which were known, in 1594, furnish *contemporary*

porary explanations of no fewer than nine words in *Midſummer-Nights Dream*; which is ſaid to have been written, in 1592: (1.) To CARROL; to ſing; to *daunce*. [Chaucer.] "No "night is now with hymn, or *carol* bleſt." [Mid. N. D.] *Hymns* and *carols* are ſaid to have been *ſung*, in the time of Shakſpeare, every night at Chriſtmaſs. But, our poet underſtood the *double* meaning of the word, though we have forgotten it; and intended to ſay: "No night is now with ſongs, or "*daunces*, bleſt." Every explanation, when given from contemporary authority, ought to be admitted, which gives clearneſs, and energy, to *our maſter* (*u*). (2.) To DEARE; to trouble; to grieve. [Chaucer.] "If I have "thanks, it is a *dear* expence." [Mid. N. D.] Johnſon, indeed ſays, that *deer* ſeems to be ſometimes uſed in Shakſpeare for ſad, hateful, grievous. [Dict. in Vo. *Dear*.] And, our poet meant to ſay, a *ſad expence:* For, Helena, who

(*u*) In Henry the vth, we have "unſeen, yet creſcive, in "his *faculty*."—Johnſon explains *faculty* to mean, "In-"creaſing in its proper power:" Yet, would I prefer Norden's explanation, in his *Surveyor's Dialogue*, 1607, p. 1:—

"Q. Call you it [the profeſſion of land-ſurveying] a "*Faculty?* What mean you by that word?

"A. *Ability to perform a thing undertaken.*"

is ſpeaking, is reſolved to betray to her diſdainful lover the *ſecret* of the fair Hermia, her friend: and feeling the compunction of a well-inſtructed mind, for this odious breach of truſt, ſhe reaſons; "And for this intelligence, if I "have thanks, it is a *deare* [ſad] expence." This explanation of the word *deare*, at once gives clearneſs to the expreſſion, and inculcates an uſeful moral. (3.) COINTE; *quaint*; *nicely ſtrange*. [Chaucer.] "And, the *quaint* "mazes, in the wanton green, for lack of "tread, are undiſtinguiſhable." [Mid. N. D.] "The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots, and "at our *quaint* ſpirits." [Id.] (4.) WOODE; *madde*; *furious*; *outrageous*. [Chaucer.] "Thou "told'ſt me they were ſtol'n into this wood; "and, here am I, and *wood*, within this "wood." [Id.] (5.) TO WEND; *to go*; *to turne*. [Chaucer.] "And back to Athens ſhall "the lovers *wend*." [Id.] (6.) NEVE; *fiſt*. [Chaucer.] "Give me your *neif*, Monſ. Muſ-"tardſeed." [Id.] (7.) ANTIQUE: *auncient*. [Chaucer.] "I never may believe theſe *an-"tique* fables, nor theſe fairy toys." [Id.] (8.) QUELL; *to abate*; *to kill*. [Chaucer.] "Quail, cruſh, conclude, and *quell*." [Id.] (9.) MONE; *lamentations*, *ſorrow*, *waylings*. [Chaucer.] "And thus ſhe *moans*." [Id.]

Let

Let theſe few examples ſuffice, to ſhow how much our bard may be illuſtrated, and ourſelves enlightened, by *the Chauceriana* (*v*). I cannot

(*v*) This elegant, and uſeful, *Grammatica Anglicana*, to which thoſe Chauceriana were annexed, was printed at Cambridge, by John Legatt, in 1594; and *the Chauceriana*, conſiſting of *five pages*, ought, in juſtice to the admirers of Shakſpeare, to be annexed to every future edition of his works, even if ſome of the lumber, which now obſtructs the reader's way, were diſmiſſed to the ſtalls. In order to ſupport that ſentiment, I will ſubjoin a few more examples:

RECKE; to *care*; *regard*; or *account of*. [Chaucer.] "The "Great Globe itſelf; yea, all which it inherit ſhall diſſolve; "and —— leave not a *rack* behind." [Tempeſt.] Every one knows how much learning has been waſted, without ſucceſs, to explain the meaning of *rack*, in this celebrated paſſage. (1.) But, it is, plainly, a miſprint for *recke*: (2.) Shakſpeare, merely, meant to ſay, that the Globe, and All, which it inherit, ſhall diſſolve, without leaving a *recke*, an *account of*, memorial, or notice, behind.

REEDE; to *ſhew*; *tell*; *declare*; *expound*. [Chaucer.] *Ophelia* ſays, ——— "But, good my brother,

"Do not, as ſome ungracious paſtors do,
"Shew me the ſteep and thorny way to *heaven*;
"Whilſt, like a puff'd and *reckleſs* libertine,
"Himſelf the primroſe path of dalliance treads,
"And *recks* not his own *read*." [Hamlet.]

Now; Shakſpeare, knowing the various meanings of all thoſe words, meant to make Ophelia ſay; whilſt *careleſs* libertines tread the primroſe path, and *regard* not their own *reede*, *declarations*, or *expoſitions*.—Moreover; the fortune-tellers *reede* the deſtinies of *the maidens of the villagry*, even to this day.

I cannot quit The *Midſummer-Night's Dream*, without mentioning, that I have ſeen in the pariſh-regiſter of St. Saviour's, Southwark, "A teſtimonial, in 1569, of the age of Joſeph "*Botthom*," who had been born, in that pariſh, the *haunt* of Shakſpeare, who may have noted the *Botthoms*, as fit objects of his muſe.

Whatever there may be in this, it is certain, though our critic has furniſhed no documents to enable us to aſcertain the fact, that Shakſpeare was not only maſter of great vigilance of obſervation, but of equal diligence of notation. He allowed nothing to eſcape him, which occurred to his eye, his memory, or his intellect: But, noting down what he ſaw, recollected, or inferred, diligently prepared to write for immortality. We may be convinced of this, by a curious, but unnoticed, paſſage, in Marſton's tenth ſatire, entitled *Humours*:—

"Luſcus, what's play'd to day? fayth now I know
I ſet my lips abroach, from whence doth flow

To SHEND; to *blame*; or *reproove*. [Chaucer.] "We ſhall "be all *ſhent*." [M.W.W.] "I am *ſhent* for ſpeaking to "you." [Twelfth Night.] "He *ſhent* our meſſengers." [Troil. and Creſ.] Now; I ſuſpect, that *ſhent*, which plainly means *blame*, reproof, is either a miſprint, or a different form of the ſame verb.—Theſe examples ſhall ſuffice, for the preſent.

Naught

Naught but pure *Juliet* and *Romeo*.
Say; who acts beſt? *Druſus*, or *Roſcio?*
Now, I have *him*, that ne're of ought did ſpeake,
But, when of playes, and plaiers, he did treate.
H'ath made a *common place-booke out of playes*,
And ſpeakes in print, at leaſt what'ere he ſayes
Is warranted by *curtaine plaudities*.
If ere you heard him courting Leſbias eyes;
Say (courteous Sir) ſpeakes he not movingly
From out ſome *new pathetique tragedie?*
He writes, he railes, he jeſts, he courts, what not;
And all from out his *huge long-ſcraped ſtock*
Of *well-penn'd playes*."

Romeo and Juliet is ſaid by Mr. Malone to be the *firſt tragedy*, which Shakſpeare produced; to have been written in 1595, printed in 1597, and reprinted, in *its preſent form two years afterwards* (*w*). Well, then, might Marſton aſk, in 1599, *What's played to day?* Nought but pure Juliet and Romeo; and might, fitly, of the author exclaim, *Speaks he not movingly from out ſome new pathetique tragedie!* Shakſpeare was already in the ſatiriſt's mind, when he cried out in the *preceding verſe*, *A hall, a hall*, and in Marſton's eye, when he opened a preceding ſatire, by exclaiming, *A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!*

(*w*) The Chronology of Shak. Plays.—*Romeo and Juliet* was printed for Cuthbert Burby, in 1599. Herb. Typ. An. vol. ii. p. 1283. My edition of *Marſton's Satyres*, from which I quote, was alſo publiſhed in the ſame year, 1599.

All

All thoſe circumſtances, clearly, evince, that Marſton meant to give a minute deſcription of Shakſpeare, in the before-quoted paſſage, which is now ſubmitted to the curious reader for the firſt time. *Druſus* was, neceſſarily, intended for Shakſpeare, as Roſcius had been, already, appropriated to Richard Burbadge: And, the compariſon, between thoſe illuſtrious actors, which was thus inſtituted by Marſton, who knew them both intimately, is honourable to all parties. But, our curioſity is gratified the moſt, by what the ſatiriſt ſays of our immortal bard, as *a man*, and as *a maker*. We now perceive, that Shakſpeare's *table-talk* turned chiefly on his profeſſion; *that he nere of ought did ſpeake, but, when of playes, or players, he did treate*. We at length perceive, that Shakſpeare had diſcernment to know the value of *a common-place book* to a profeſſed writer: *He made a common-place book out of plays: He writes, he railes, he jeſts, he courts, what not; and all from out his huge long-ſcraped ſtock of well-penn'd playes*. This is ſuch a delineation of our dramatiſt, as his admirers have never ſeen before. It was, indeed, known, that Shakſpeare adopted freely, but amply improved, preceding plays, characters, ſentiments, and language: Yet, our critic,

critic, when he ſhows *his active practice*, is not ſufficiently ſtudious to tell, that, ſuch was the uſage of the times, without the imputation of *plagiariſm*, and the cuſtom of the greateſt poets of the age; as when Spenſer adopted the *Colin Clout* of Skelton. The ſucceſs of Shakſpeare's dramas, at the theatre, is alſo celebrated by Marſton, when the rival-dramatiſt affirms that,

" ———— What ere he ſayes
" Is warranted by *curtaine plaudities* (*x*)."

Such, then, are the lights, which the pencil of Marſton has thrown on *the ſtudies* of Shakſpeare! We may now perceive diſtinctly, that our dramatiſt was in the habit of reading, not only the plays and poetry, but the books and pamphlets, which a teeming age brought forth; and in the practice of *common-placing* whatever was curious, or might be uſeful. Much illuſtration, indeed, was given to the obſcurities of Shakſpeare, by Theobald, and ſtill greater help has been afforded to our own unſkilfulneſs, by other editors, during the laſt thirty years, from the peruſal of *all ſuch* READING *as was never read*,—but by Shak-

(*x*) *Curtaine* and *theatre* were ſynonimous expreſſions, for *the ſtage*, in that age, as we learn from Northbrook, and Stubbs.

ſpeare,

ſpeare, to whom, Pope owed it, as a poet, and a critic, to have been ſomewhat more *modeſt in exception* (*y*). But, though much has been done, by clearing away obſtructions, to vindicate *our maſter's* claim to immortality; yet, much remains to be done by the efforts of diligence, rather than the *ſcoffs* of *high-blown pride*, and by the inveſtigations of judgment, rather than the *backbites* of *habitual malignity*, to make his obſcurities intelligible to the meaneſt capacity, and his beauties reliſhable by the greateſt genius.

In purſuance of this ſentiment, I will add a mite, or two, to the common ſtock of uſeful illuſtration. The whole conduct, ſentiment, and language of *the Ghoſt in Hamlet*, which have created ſo much embarraſsment, may be cleared, and the explanations of the moſt intelligent commentators confirmed, by a paſſage, in *The Book of the* (*z*) *Feſtival*, a church book of

(*y*) See Warton on Spenſer, 2d ed. p. 264.

(*z*) It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1532: But, I tranſcribe the paſſage from Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 139: The prieſt, ſpeaking of *the burial of the dead*, aſſerts *the walking of their ghoſts*, in the following manner: "Many "walk on nights, when buried in holy place: But, that is "not long of the fiend, but of the grace of God, to get "them help. And ſome be guilty, and have no reſt. Four "men

of the prieſts, which was read to their pariſhioners, during particular ſeaſons. Shakſpeare may have, poſſibly, found ſome edition of this book, in his own family, and have, thereby, learned the popular notions of the times, with regard to *the walking of ghoſts*, and to the *houſeling* of ſick men, by the adminiſtration of *the ſacrament*.

From Batman's *Doome, warning all men to*

" men ſtale an abbot's ox to their larder. The abbot did a " ſentence, and curſed them: So three of them were " *ſhriven*, and aſked mercy: The fourth died, and was not " *aſſoiled*, and had not forgiveneſs: So, when he was dead, " *the ſpirit went by night*, and *feared* all the people about, " that none durſt walk after ſun down. Then, as the " pariſh prieſt went on a night with *God's body* to *houſel* a " ſick man, this ſpirit went with him, and told him what he " was, and why he went [walked] and prayed the prieſt to " go to his wife, that they ſhould go both to the abbot, " and make him amends for his treſpaſs; and ſo to aſſoil " him; for he might have no reſt: And, anon the abbot " aſſoiled him; and *he went to reſt*, and joy for evermore." —In *The Doome, warning to judgement* of Mr. Profeſſor Batman, 1581, p. 420, which Shakſpeare had certainly read, there is *the print* of a ghoſt, who " not many yeres paſte, in " Bohemia, appeared to one that was aſleep:" This ghoſt is a goodly perſonage; and is all naked, indeed, except his *loins*, which are ygirdled with Mr. Malone's *leathern pilch*. The moſt intelligent ghoſt of the preſent day might *ſnatch a grace* from the attitude, which is really fine, of the Bohemian ghoſt of Profeſſor Batman.

the judgemente; and containing almoſt all the *ſtrange prodigies, hapned in the world*, Shakſpeare acquired much knowledge, which is ſcattered about in his dramas: Herein he found the hiſtory "of ſundry monſters of men, "in divers forms;" ſuch as the *Cynnaminii*, or dog-keepers, the *Spermathophagi*, who lived on fruite, the *Ilophogi*, who dwelt in trees, and leaped from branch to branch, like ſquirrelles, the *Hermafroditæ*, that is, people of both kinds, the *Inchthyophagi*, or fiſh-eaters, the *Pandora*, who live two hundred years, the *Nigritæ*, who are all black, and whoſe nether lips hang down as low as their breaſts, the *Æthiopes*, a black people, who have *four* (*a*) *eyes*, the *Hippopodes*, whoſe nether parts are like to horſes, the *Arimaſpi*, who have but one eye in their foreheads, the ANTHROPOPHAGI, who eat man's fleſh, and live without law, and from theſe men eaters proceed the *Canibals*, who are ſo called from their eating man's (*b*) fleſh, the *Pygmies*, who are ſo called for

(*a*) "*Ethiops* of their ſweet complexion crack." [Love's Labour Loſt.] "Such *Ethiop* words, *blacker* in their effect, "than in their countenance." [As you like it.]

(*b*) Othello tells Deſdemona,—Of the *Canibals*, that each other eat, the *Anthropophagi*, and *men, whoſe heads do grow*

for their ſhortneſs of ſtature. Yet, among all thoſe wonderful nations, the Profeſſor ſeems not to have found that celebrated people, *whoſe heads do grow beneath their ſhoulders*.

The hiſtory of *theſe ſingular men*, may be compreſſed into a very little volume. Mr. Profeſſor Batman, after reading every Greek, and Latin, author, after peruſing the writings of the Italian, German, French, and Spaniſh doctors, who had treated of *wonderful wonders*, had almoſt publiſhed his own work, without ſaying a word about that memorable race (*c*). But, there happily were ſent him from abroad ſome additional relations of *monſters*, which he cauſed to be tranſlated, for the inſtruction of his readers.—"In the woddes of Aſia," he (*d*) ſays, "are men called *Monopoli*, who *have* "*no*

grow beneath their ſhoulders.—"He'll ſpeak, like an *Anthro-* "*pophaginian* unto thee." [Merry Wives of Windſor.] Here, is a word, which was plainly coined, in order to throw contempt on ſuch wonderful men; as, indeed, there is much of the ſame purpoſe in Othello's celebrated relation, which, at the ſame time, evinces the poet's inſight into human nature.

(*c*) He gives a very long liſt of all the books, which he had read over, to diſcover things out of nature. In this liſt, may be ſeen the name of Nicolaus Geilerus *Ludi* Baſilienſis *moderator*.

(*d*) The Dome, p. 389: And yet, Batman, when he was upon the ſearch, might have found in Pliny, the naturaliſt,

" *no head*, but *a face in their breaſte*: They go " naked, covering themſelves [their no-heads] " with a cap, by reaſon of the ſun's great " heat: They gather pepper, and barter it " with the merchants of Mecha; and the " wares which they have for it, they ſend to " *the Antipodes* (*e*): They are verye conti- " nent and modeſt men; neither are they ever " heard to utter an ill word; they are very " upright, and have a good conſcience, ac- " cording to their law." Luckily, Sir Walter Raleigh found, in Guiana, a few years after, a kindred generation, whom he introduced to the Engliſh people, in 1596. While the wits of England, Hall, Marſton, and (*f*) Shakſpeare, were laughing at the *marvels* of

iſt, lib. vii. cap. 2: " *Verſus occidentem ad montem Milo in* " *Aſia*, vivere genus hominum, ſine capitibus, habentes " occulos in pectore intra axillas." Nay; thoſe famous men were delineated in the *Moſaic Pavements* of the Romans. [Divus Auguſt. De Civit. Dei, Lib. xvi. cap. 8.]

(*e*) Shakſpeare often mentions the *Antipodes*. [Much Ado About Nothing; Merchant of Venice; Richard 2d: " Thou art as oppoſite to every good, as the *Antipodes* are " unto us." 3 H. 6.] Shakſpeare thus appears to have known the *Antipodes* full better than Batman.

(*f*) In the *Merry Wives of Windſor*, 1601, from the witty tongue of Falſtaff: " She is *a region* of *Guiana*, all " gold and bounty."

Raleigh,

Raleigh, the ſcholars of the continent adopted his fictions. Our voyager's narrative was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed at Nuremberg, by Levin Hulſe, in 1599, with a *map* by HONDIUS, having upon it the ſaid men, hunting, and fighting, with *their heads beneath their ſhoulders*. The learning of Shakſpeare, I grant, did not enable him to read this *Brevis & admiranda deſcriptio Regni Gvianæ, auri abundantiſſimi, in America*; but it muſt be equally allowed, that *the ſights* of Shakſpeare enabled him to ſee, in the ſculptured title-page, the men *with their heads beneath their ſhoulders*, bodied forth to the dimmeſt *eyne*. The ſame *picture* alſo ſhowed to *the naturaliſts* of that age, what muſt have appeared very notable, that the *Monopolian* women were made in all reſpects, like unto other women. We now perceive, from this brief hiſtory, that thoſe *Monopoli* were very familiar to the underſtandings, and the eyes, of Engliſhmen, before Shakſpeare brought them out upon the ſtage, when, as old acquaintances, the men, *whoſe heads do grow beneath their ſhoulders*, muſt have been received with loud applauſe.

We are, in this manner, carried forward to the queſtion, which has been agitated, about

the *epoch*, and the *origin*, of *the Tempeſt*. Theobald aſſerted, that *this nobleſt effort* of the *ſublime imagination* of Shakſpeare muſt have been written, after 1609, becauſe the Bermuda iſlands, which are mentioned in it, were unknown to the Engliſh until that year. The ignorance of that uſeful editor has been properly corrected, by a reference to Hackluyt's Voyages, 1600, for May's deſcription of Bermudas, where he was ſhipwrecked in 1593. But, we muſt go a ſtep further back. And, we ſhall find, in Raleigh's Narrative, which Shakſpeare had read, and noted, the true ſource of our *maker's* knowledge, about the *ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes* (*g*). In diſplaying the advantages of Guiana, Raleigh ſays, with premature dogmatiſm, " the *Channel* of *Ba-*
" *hama*, coming from the Weſt Indies, *can-*
" *not be paſſed in the winter*, and when it is
" at the beſt, it is a perilous, and a fearful,
" place: The reſt of *the Indies* for calms,
" and diſeaſes, are very troubleſome; and

(*g*) *The Diſcoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, with a relation of the Great and Golden Citie of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado. Performed in 1595 by Sir W. Ralegh. Imprinted at London by Rob. Robinſon, 1596. The book was dedicated, by Raleigh, to the Lord Admiral Howard, and to Sir Robert Cecyll.

" *the*

" *the* BERMUDAS, a helliſh ſea, for *thunder*, " *lightening*, and *ſtorms*." Subſequent miſadventures, in thoſe ſeas, and poſterior publications, in London, kept the *ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes* conſtantly before the public eye. Jaurdan, who accompanied Sir George Somers, when he was ſhipwrecked on Bermudas, in 1609, publiſhed, in 1610, *A Diſcovery of the Barmudas*, otherwiſe called, *the iſle of Divels* (*b*). A ſhip, named the Plough, ſailed from the Thames, in April 1612, with adventurers for Bermudas, who, having *a fair and comfortable paſſage*, eſtabliſhed the *firſt colony* in *the iſle of Devils*, on the 11th of July 1612. This enterprize was followed, by the publication, in 1613, of *A Plaine Deſcription of the Barmudas now called Sommer iſlands* (*i*). During the months of October, November,

(*b*) It was printed by Windet for Barnet in St. Dunſtan's Churchyard.

(*i*) This pamphlet was printed by W. Stanſby for W. Welby: And, it is merely a republication of Jourdan's Tract, with *an addition*, containing the voyage and ſettlement, under *Maſter* R. More, the deputie governor, with a change of the name, and a ſoftening of the deſcription, as to the *helliſhneſs* of the thunder, lightening, and ſtorms; yet, retaining the following paſſage in Jourdan's pamphlet, which is very material to remember, and very curious to remark now, as it has never been remarked before: " For the

November, and December, 1612, there was a continued *tempeſt*, as Stowe informs us, which wrecked many ſhips along the coaſts of England. Shakſpeare's Tempeſt was acted in the beginning of the year 1613. And, Ben Johnſon, with *unlucky ſelf-ſufficiency*, ſcoffed at this ſublime effort of the human genius, in his *Bartholomew-fair*, 1614. Now, theſe dates, and thoſe circumſtances, fix the true epoch of the Tempeſt, not in 1612, according to Mr. Malone's chronology, but in 1613, according to the evidence. Shakſpeare's notion of the *helliſhneſs* of the Bermudean ſea, for *thunder*, *lightening*, and *ſtorms*, was plainly derived from Raleigh, and his idea of the *ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes*, being an *inchanted place*, which made every mariner avoid it, as Scylla, and Charydis, was obviouſly taken from Jourdan, when his tract was republiſhed, in 1613 (*k*). Theſe

" Iſlands of the Barmudas, as every man knoweth, that " hath heard, or read of them, were never inhabited by any " Chriſtian, or heathen, people, but ever eſteemed, and " reputed, a moſt *prodigious*, and *inchanted*, *place*, affoording " nothing but guſts, ſtormes, and foul weather; which made " every navigator and mariner to avoid them, as Scylla and " Charydis, or as they would ſhun the Devil himſelfe."

(*k*) In the *Plain Deſcription*, when printed, in 1613, there is a ſuperaddition to the original paſſage, which is very remarkable :—

Theſe poſitions may be ſupported by other facts, and confirmed by additional reaſonings, which will, at the ſame time, open new proſpects to the inquiſitive eye. Knowing the common opinion, that the Bermudean iſles were enchanted, and governed by ſpirits, our *maker* ſhowed great judgment, in cauſing, by enchantment, the King's ſhip to be wrecked on *the ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes*, with alluſions to the ſhipwreck of Sommers, and the government by ſpirits. He goes on to ſhow his own contempt for the marvels of voyage-writers, in that age of voyages, by ſaying; "But, *the rarity* of it is, which is indeed "almoſt beyond credit; *as many vouch'd ra-* "*rities are.*" Showing thus the rectitude of his own faculties, he proceeds to ridicule, by the moſt marked ſarcaſm, *The Plain Deſcrip-*

remarkable:—"It is reported, that the land of *the Barmudas* "with the many iſlands about it are inchanted, and kept "with evil and wicked ſpirits; it is a moſt idle and falſe "report."—To this the writer of the ſupplemental account adds: "For, our *inchanted* iſlands, which is kept as ſome "ſay *with ſpirits*, will wrong no friend, nor foe." Three mariners, who had been left on Bermudas in 1610, were found by the planters, in 1612, more *civil* than *ſavage*, and more induſtrious than idle: For, they had planted corn, wheat, beans, tobacco, and melons. We now ſee how many hints Shakſpeare gained from thoſe Bermudean pamphlets.

tion of Bermudas, 1613 (*l*): "Though this "iſland ſeem to be deſert;—Ha, ha, ha! "Uninhabitable, and almoſt inacceſſible; yet,

(*l*) Who did not think, ſays the writer, till within theſe four years, but that thoſe iſlands had been rather a habitation of devels, than fit for men to dwell in? Who did not hate the name, when he was on land, and ſhun the place when he was on the ſeas. The writer, then, ſpeaks of *the Bermudas as deſert*, yet ſays it was inhabited by three men; who were more civil, than ſavage; that they were ſurrounded by dangerous rocks, lying ſeaven leagues into the ſea, yet, there are many good harbours in it: They found the ayr ſo temperate, and the country ſo aboundantly fruitful of all fit neceſſaries for the ſuſtentation of man's life; and though this iſland has been, and is, accounted, the moſt dangerous, infortunate, and moſt forlorne place in the world, it is in truth, the richeſt, healthfulleſt, and pleaſing land, and merely natural, as ever man ſet foot upon. The ground is the richeſt to bear fruit, whatſoever one ſhall lay on it, that is in the world, and very eaſy for digging; for it is a *fat ſandy ground*, and of *colour a brown red:* Many ſeeds were ſown, the cowcumber and the melon among others, and they were ſeen above the ground on the fourth day: They went into the bird-iſlands; and *without ſtick, ſtone-bow*, or *gun*, they took up the birds with their hands, ſo many as they would. Fiſh of every kind ſwarm about thoſe iſlands. And for ſuch extraordinary weather, for thunder and lightning, as is reported, I can ſee no ſuch matter, but better weather than they have in England; and, if we had *been wet by weather*, or *by wading*, *we may lay us down, ſo wet, to ſleep*, with a palm-tree leaf or two under us, and one over us, and we ſleep ſoundly, without any taking cold; your airs in England are far more ſubject to diſeaſes than theſe iſlands are.

"yet;

" yet;—He could not miſs it: It muſt needs " be of ſubtle, tender and delecate tempe- " rance: Ay, and ſubtle: The air breathes " upon us here moſt ſweetly:—as if it had " lungs, and rotten ones:—or as if 'twere " *perfum'd* by a *fen*. Here, is every thing " advantageous to life:—True; ſave means " to live. How luſh, and luſty the graſs " looks. *The ground is indeed tawny*,—with *an* " *eye of green in it*. But, the rarity of it [all] " is, that our garments, being, as they were, " drench'd in the ſea, hold, notwithſtanding, " their freſhneſs."

After laughing, in this manner, at ſuch abſurd deſcriptions, Shakſpeare continues to laugh at the colonial policy of that age, which made the colonies ſubject, yet ſovereign, dependent, yet independent, taxable, yet not taxable, obedient, yet diſobedient:—" Had I a *plantation of this iſle*, ſays Gonzalo, an *honeſt old counſellor*, and *were the king of it*,

I' the commonwealth, I would, by contraries,
Execute all things: For, no kind of traffick,
Would I admit; no name of magiſtrate;
Letters ſhould not be known; no uſe of ſervice,
Of riches, or of poverty; no contracts,
Succeſſions; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none:
No uſe of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent, and pure:
No ſovereignty:—

All things, in common, nature ſhould produce,
Without ſweat, or endeavour: treaſon, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but nature ſhould bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foizon, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.
I would with ſuch perfection govern, Sir,
To excell *the golden age* (*m*).

In

(*m*) Mr. Malone has clearly ſhown, that Gonzalo's diſcourſe, both in ſentiment, and language, was borrowed from Florio's *Tranſlation* of Montaigne's *Eſſaies*, which was publiſhed, in 1603; [Shak. vol. ii. p. 38.] but our critic did not advert to a material circumſtance, in this queſtion, that the ſecond edition of Florio's Tranſlation was publiſhed, in 1613: And, our commentator is egregiouſly miſtaken, in ſuppoſing, that Shakſpeare was led, by the peruſal of this book, to make the *ſcene* of the *Tempeſt* in an unfrequented iſland; as I have evinced from the Bermudean pamphlets, and other documents, though it is probable, that Shakſpeare, when he was writing the Tempeſt, in the winter of 1612-13, may have thrown his eyes on the *ſecond* edition of Florio, and, as he often did, caught at the above-quoted words, which were ſuitable to his purpoſe. Shakſpeare, as I have already ſhown, was perfectly acquainted with the *canniballes*, before he could have ſeen that tranſlation: and he undoubtedly ſaw much about that *man-eating people*, in the improved edition of Hackluyt's voyages, 1598-1600: Yet, I think it probable, that Shakſpeare may have anagramatized *canibal* into *Caliban*. It is, moreover, to be obſerved, that there is annexed to the Plaine Deſcription of the Bermudas, 1613, what would be called, at preſent, *the fundamental conſtitution* of the colony, containing ſome of the contrarieties, which Shakſpeare ridicules; particularly, their engagement to defend manfully *the commonwealth we live in*, if any foreign power ſhould

In *the Tempeſt*, which has ſo many references to the new-found, and new-ſettled, world, there is an alluſion to a *dead Indian*, that has defied the commentators ſkill. *Trinculo* ſays, with more ſarcaſm, than truth, that, in England, *when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten, to ſee a dead Indian* (*n*). It muſt be remembered, that Shakſpeare wrote this, in $16\frac{12}{13}$, when he was catching at contemporary topicks. I will endeavour to ſhow the ſtreet, where the Indian died, though I pretend not to know the

ſhould attempt to diſpoſſeſs them,—without *ſword, pike, knife, or gun.* The opening of Gonzalo's ſpeech, *Had I a plantation of this iſle*, points his diſcourſe to that enchanted ſpot, and the ſtrain of his ſentiments ſhows how much his ſarcaſm was levelled at the projects of colonization, which, in the reign of James, were daily circulated by the chartered-companies: The adventurers to Bermudas were ſent out by projectors, who had bought the Bermudas from the Virginia Company, to whom the planters promiſed *ſuit* and *ſervice*. Trevet had written of *antartic France*, or the Caribbee iſlands, before Montaigne: And, Profeſſor Magini, who publiſhed, in 1597, his *Geographiae Univerſae Opus*, has an expreſs chapter, in vol. ii. p. 291:—*Canibalorum, ſeu Caribum* Inſulæ, which includes the whole of the preſent Weſt-Indies. *Magini* ſays, that the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands are dark coloured, without hair, fierce, cruel, and *anthropophagi*.

(*n*) Steevens's Shak. vol. iii. p. 78.

houſe,

houſe, wherein he was to be ſeen, when dead. Lord Southampton, and Sir Francis Gorges, engaging in voyages of diſcovery, ſent out, in 1611, two veſſels under the command of Harlie, and Nicolas, who ſailed along the New England coaſt, where they were ſometimes well, and often ill, received, by the natives; and returned to England, in the ſame year, with *five ſavages*, on board (*o*). In 1614, Captain Smith carried out to New England, one of thoſe ſavages, named *Tantum*; Captains Harlie and Hopſon tranſported, in the ſame year, two other of thoſe ſavages, called *Epenow*, and *Manawet*; one of thoſe ſavages adventured to the European continent; and the *fifth Indian*, of whom no account is given, we may eaſily ſuppoſe died in London, and was exhibited for a ſhow (*p*). In 1613, *Pocahontas*, the daughter of *Powhatan*, the King of Virginia, marrying Maſter John Rolf, went with him to London, where ſhe

(*o*) Prince's New Eng. Chron. 33. Prince is very dull, but very accurate. Agawam, where Harlie, and Nicolas were well received by the natives, was afterwards called *Southampton*. To thoſe *ſavages*, Stephano may allude, when he ſpeaks of *ſavages* and *men of Ind.* All America was then denominated *Ind.*

(*p*) Ib. 39; Smith's N. Eng. 204.

was

was noticed by the King and Queen, was much viſited by the faſhionable world; and unhappily died at Graveſend, on her return to her native kingdom, in 1617: But, *Pocahontas*, who is greatly praiſed for her accompliſhments, died regretted by every one; and certainly was not expoſed for *hapleſs gain* (*q*).

The *juggling witchcraft*, which——

" ——————— ſafely in harbour,
" [Laid] the King's ſhip; in the deep (*r*) *nook*, where once
" Thou

(*q*) Stith's Hiſt. Virg. 123.

(*r*) The before-quoted *Chauceriana*, 1594, has "*nooke*; " corner, or angle:" And, Shakſpeare has alſo, "*nookſhotten* " iſle of Albion." [Henry 5.] In *the Tempeſt*, Miranda ſays,—

" O my heart bleeds;
" To think o' the *teen*, that I have turn'd you to,
" Which is from my remembrance."

Mr. Steevens ſays "*teen* is ſorrow, grief, trouble." So in *Romeo and Juliet*: "to my *teen* be it ſpoken." The contemporary *Chauceriana* explains *teene*, to be *revengefull wrath*; *inveterate malice*. Mr. Steevens was the firſt, who, with his uſual recollection, ſhowed, that Shakſpeare had borrowed the well-known paſſage in the *Tempeſt*, which was converted into a motto for his monument, from Lord Stirling's DARIUS:

" And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
" *All fades, and ſcarcely leaves behind a token.*" DARIUS.

" And, like this unſubſtantial pageant, *faded*,
" *Leave not a rack behind.*" TEMPEST.

The

" Thou call'ſt me up, at midnight, to fetch dew
" From *the ſtill-vex'd Bermoothes*,"

ſeems ſtill to direct *the Tempeſt*, with Ariel's wand, and hath *left aſleep* the commentators, *with a charm, join'd to their ſuffer'd labour*. When the ever-moralizing Gonzalo is comforting the King, by ſhowing him, that other mortals were ſubject to ſimilar ſhipwreck, he adds, as Mr. Malone, and Mr. Steevens, concur to make him ſpeak:

" ——————— Our hint of woe
" Is common; every day, ſome ſailor's wife,
" The *maſters* of ſome *merchant*, *and the merchant*,
" Have juſt our theme of woe."

Seeing the difficulty, Mr. Malone ſhut his eyes (*s*). The vigilance of Mr. Steevens ſaw *ſome corruption*, in the paſſage, while his acumen tried, with unlucky diligence, *to purge this choler, without letting blood*. " We muſt " ſuppoſe," he remarks, " that by *maſters* our " author means the *owners* of a merchant ſhip, " or the *officers* to whom the navigation of it

The compariſon of theſe ſimilar paſſages demonſtrates, that my amendment of *rack*, which is only a miſprint for *recke*, was right; and that Shakſpeare meant only to ſay, as I have obſerved, that this globe would fade, and leave not *a token* behind.

(*s*) Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 33.

" had

"s had been truſted (*t*)." Yet, the corruption will be found not to feſter in the word *maſters*, ſo much as in the nonſenſe, *merchant, and the merchant*. I will print, and *point*, Gonzalo's ſpeech, which contains uſeful conſolation, as I preſume to think Shakſpeare intended it ſhould be underſtood:—

" Beſeech you, Sir, be merry: You have cauſe;
" So, have we all, of joy: for, our eſcape
" Is much beyond our loſs: Our hint of woe
" Is common: every day, ſome ſailor's wife;
" The *maſter* of ſome *merchant-man*; the merchant;
" Have juſt our theme of woe: but, for the miracle;
" I mean our preſervation, few, in millions,
" Can ſpeak, like us: then, wiſely, good Sir, weigh
" Our ſorrow with our comfort."

As this fine ſpeech is now printed, and *pointed*, the *rhythm*, and the *reaſon*, go hand-and-hand together. Shakſpeare was thinking, in the *concrete* form, of *the* ſailor's *wife*, not *wives*; of *the merchant*, not *merchants*: And, if propriety require, that we ſhould continue his concatenation of thought, we muſt ſay *the maſter* of ſome *merchant-man*, not *maſters* of ſome *merchant-men*. We now perceive, that this faulty line was corrupted, by confounding letters, at the preſs, [S, S,] and

(*t*) Shak. 1793, vol. iii. p. 52.

miſprinting

miſprinting *merchant and*, for *merchant-man* (*u*).

The *punctuation* of Shakſpeare's text is certainly in the power of every commentator, as Johnſon obſerved, though the practice muſt be regulated, by the context, and the principle governed, by ſyſtem. This is a curious ſubject, if it did not apply ſo pertinently to the Studies of Shakſpeare. The celebrated Caxton introduced with the typographic art

(*u*) Nautical language was not very familiar to the printers of that age: For, we may ſee, in Hackluyt's Voyages, conſtant apologies, by the writers of his accounts, for uſing ſailors' terms. It was, however, common, as we may learn from that curious, and inſtructive, collection, to call a *ſhip* of *war*, a *man* of *war*, a French *ſhip*, a Frenchman, a Hamburgh ſhip, a Hamburger, a victualling ſhip, a *victualler*: But, in glancing my *ſpectacled eyne* over thoſe voyages, I did not ſee *merchant-man*, for a merchant-ſhip. We all know how happily our *maker* could compound words, as when he ſays; "And, "not one veſſel 'ſcape the *merchant-marring* rocks." [Merchant of Venice.] And, the genius of Shakſpeare only improved, with his uſual happineſs, the exiſting phraſeology, when he called a merchant-*ſhip*, a merchant-*man*; a term, which from that epoch, has continued in our naval language. *Maſter* was the appropriate word for the commander of a merchant-man, as we may learn from Hackluyt, and indeed from the opening ſcene of *the Tempeſt*, in which the chief officer is called *the maſter* both by the boatſwain, and the King.

the

the *Roman* pointing, as it was uſed, on the continent, by the original race of printers (*v*). Berthelet, the "printer unto the Kinges noble "grace," who began to print, in 1529, and died, in 1555, ſeems to me, to have been the firſt, who introduced the modern *points*, with the exception of the ſemicolon. In this ſtate, the practice of pointing continued, when the learned Hart, the Cheſter-Heralt, publiſhed his *Orthographie*, in 1569; and Shakſpeare was beginning to *prattle wildly*. In a particular ſection, Hart "brieflye writes of diſtinc-"tion; or pointing, which (well obſerved) "maye yeelde the matter, much the readier "to the ſenſes, as well to the eie as to the "eare. For it ſheweth us how to reſt: when "the ſentence continueth, and when it end-"eth: how to underſtande what is written,

(*v*) Pinſon, the *diſciple* of Caxton, who had the honour to introduce the *Roman* letter, printed, without the *yere*, "Aſ-"cenſius declynſyons with the playne expoſition," a grammatical tract, which treats, among other topicks, "Of the "craft of poynting." A ſhort extract will ſhow the manner of our firſt printers: "Therbe fiue maner poyntys / and di-"uiſiõs moſt vſide with cunnyng men: the which / if they "be wel vſid: make the ſentens very light / and eſy to be "vnderſtõd both to the reder / and the herer. & they be "theſe: virgil / come / parethēſis / playnt point / and in-"terrogatif." [Herb. Typ. An. vol. i. p. 301.]

"and

" and is not needeful to the ſentence: what " ſome tranſlatour or new writer of a worke, " doth adde more than the author did at firſt " write: and alſo what ſentence is aſking: " and what is wondering: their number is " ſeuen, whoſe figures folow. The firſt marked " thus [,] *Comma*, and is in reading the ſhorteſt " reſt. The ſecond marked thus [:] *Colon*, " which ſhows that there is more to come. " And the laſt of theſe *three* is a pricke " thus [.], or *period*, to ſignify the end of a " perfect ſentence.—The *parentheſis* [( )] " which ſignifieth interpoſition.—No more do " I ſay of the interrogative [?] or admira- " tive [!] but that they are moſt full ſen- " tences of themſelves. There reſteth yet to " ſaye ſomewhat of theſe laſt [ ], which differ " from the proprietie of the *parentheſis:* for " it is never uſed of the author, but in tran- " ſlations, commentaries, and expoſitions."

Thus far the intelligent Cheſter-Heralt! Now; it is apparent, that he does not notice the *ſemicolon*, any more than if it did not exiſt: In fact, it did not exiſt, at that epoch. *Bullokar's Booke* for the *Amendment* of *Orthographie* for *Engliſh Speech* [1580] does not make any uſe of the *ſemicolon*, although he has the other points, which were recommended by Hart:

Neither does Stockwood, in his *Engliſh Accidence*, 1590, recognize the ſemicolon, either by his practice, or inſtruction. Add to all thoſe facts, that THE BIBLE, which was printed, in 1592, by the Deputies of Chriſtopher Barker, printer to the Queene's moſt excellent Majeſtie, is not pointed with *ſemicolons*, though it be printed with appropriate accuracy.

We are now arrived, by an illuſtrative progreſs, at the epoch, when Shakſpeare began to write for the world. And, it is a queſtion, which is curious in itſelf, and may be uſeful in the reſult, how our *great maſter* pointed his immortal dramas. He, undoubtedly, had read the Orthographies of Hart, and Bullokar, though he, probably, did not regard them with approbation, as far at leaſt, as they propoſed innovations. In *Loves Labours Loſt*, 1594, our dramatiſt ſpeaks, contemptuouſly, of "ſuch *rackers* of *orthography*, as to ſpeak, "*dout*, fine, when they ſhould ſay *doubt*:" In *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600, Shakſpeare reiterated his ſarcaſm, by making Benedict ſay; "He was wont to ſpeak plain, and to the pur-"poſe, like an honeſt man, and a ſoldier; but, "now he is turned *Orthographer*; his words "are a very fantaſtical banquet, juſt ſo many "ſtrange diſhes:" And, it was, indeed, very

fantaſtical in Bullokar to propoſe the change of the eſtabliſhed ſpelling, the new modelling of the whole practice of printing, and the entire alteration of the founder's types. From thoſe conſiderations, we may rationally infer, that Shakſpeare pointed his dramas on the principles of Hart, without *ſemicolons*, and without regarding the innovations, which, at that epoch, began to gain ground on former practice. It is equally reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Spenſer's uſage was the (*w*) ſame; as both thoſe great poets concurred, in oppoſing inno-

(*w*) The firſt edition of *The Faerie Queene*, 1590, has *the ſemicolon* ſometimes introduced by Ponſonbie, the printer; for Spenſer was at a diſtance from the preſs: and, there is not a ſemicolon either in his prefatory letter to Raleigh, or in the recommendatory verſes by Raleigh and others to Spenſer.—Such was the progreſs of literature, in the age of Shakſpeare, that when Charles Butler publiſhed his *Engliſh Grammar*, in 1633, he treated particularly *Of Points*; and ſhows diſtinctly, that the *ſemicolon* had been then introduced into our practice, and was perfectly underſtood: "*Semicolon*, ſays he, is a point of imperfect ſenſe, in the "middle of a *colon*, or period: commonly, when it is a "compound axiom; whoſe parts are joined together, by a "double, and ſometime by a ſingle conjunction: and it con-"tinues the tenour or tone of the voice to the laſt word, "with a *colon* pauſe: As Rom. xi. 16. If the firſt fruit be "holy; the lump is holy: and if the root be holy; ſo are "the branches."

vations

vations in language, and in obſtructing the changes of life.

Whatever there may be in thoſe truths, certain it is, that ſyſtematic pointing is of the greateſt importance to the text of Shakſpeare, both for the clearneſs of his ſenſe, and the energy of his ſtyle. For the attainment of thoſe objects, ſomething has been done, though with not much ſucceſs. But, it would be invidious to apply too rigid rules to the practical failures of ſelf-ſufficiency, while a great deal depends on the context, and not a little upon taſte. One example ſhall, however, be given, to illuſtrate diſquiſition, rather than to correct practice. Mr. (*x*) Malone, and Mr. (*y*) Steevens concur, in giving the well-known ſpeech of Gonzalo, as follows:—"That our "garments, being as they were, drench'd in "the ſea, hold notwithſtanding their freſh-"neſs, and gloſſes; being rather new dy'd, "than ſtain'd with ſalt water." Now; for want of a comma, after *hold*, and another, after *notwithſtanding*, the ſenſe is obſcured, and the ſtyle enfeebled: Compare the ſame ſpeech with itſelf, as pointed, in the following manner:—"That our garments, being as

(*x*) Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 35.

(*y*) Shak. 1793, vol. iii. p. 55.

" they were, drench'd, in the ſea, hold, not-
" withſtanding, [their drenching] their freſh-
" neſs, and gloſſes; being rather new dy'd,
" than ſtain'd, with ſalt water." Recent examples have evinced, with ſufficient conviction, that the text of Shakſpeare is not yet ſettled: And, this inſtance affords equal proof, if a thouſand paſſages did not confirm it, that the punctuation of Shakſpeare may ſtill be improved by the help of the ſcholars, antiquaries, and heralds, whoſe imputed ignorance, the commentators are ſtudious to proclaim. But, of Shakſpeare, and his editors, there is no end; of admiration of the one, or of correction of the others. The Believers will ſubmit to a candid court the foregoing ſpecimens, few as they are, to ſhow how well they could write annotations on that great poet, if they were to ſerve a thirty-years apprenticeſhip to ſo uſeful a trade (z).

When

(z) As a confirmation of that ſentiment, the believers will ſubmit one more note. Every one knows how much learning has been waſted on the cur, *Brache*. [Mal. Shak. vol. iii. p. 245.] In Dugdale's Bar. vol. i. p. 264, there is mention of a Charter by Robert, Earl of Ferrers, in the 43d of Henry 3d; granting "to Sir Walter Releg, and his heirs, " liberty to hunt and courſe the fox and hare within the " precincts of his foreſt of Needwood, with eight *Braches*, " and

When we look back on the ſtudies of Shakſpeare, we may readily perceive, that the poet, who could, in five-and-twenty years, produce five-and-thirty dramas, never had leiſure for "the ſuperintendence of a playhouſe," whatever Mr. Malone may *ſay*, Mr. Steevens *repeat*, or *the Miſcellaneous Papers* re-echo (*a*). Shakſpeare never was *the manager of his own theatre*, if we may believe record-evidence, rather than looſe aſſertion. The council-regiſters, and the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, concur to demonſtrate, that Heminges had the *ſuperintendence* of the Lord Chamberlain's company, and was *the Manager* of *the Globe*. When the licenſe was granted to the players, in 1603, Shakſpeare was not placed at *the head* of the liſt. In 1605, Phillips regarded our poet as *a fellow*; in 1616,

'and four greyhounds."—Crompton on Courts, 1594, p. 167; treating of what beaſts a man may take in the foreſt, ſays: "It is no matter how he do take them, whether it be by "hounds, *brachets*, or by engins." The believers concur with Mr. Steevens, that *Brach*, merriman, means merely merriman, *the Brach*: And, what is immediately added of the *deep-mouth'd brach* ſhows, that Shakſpeare underſtood the word in the ſenſe of Earl Ferrers's Charter, as *a deep-mouth'd hound*, and not a greyhound. The *brachets* were probably little hounds, or *beagles*.

(*a*) Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. p. 265; Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 477.

Shakſpeare conſidered himſelf as *a fellow:* And, when the player editors dedicated his dramas to the Earls of Pembroke, and Montgomery, they call him by the equal appellation of *their friend*, and *fellow*. The ſtudies of Shakſpeare, diligent, and attentive, as they were, appear thus to have been never interrupted by *the ſuperintendence of a playhouſe*.

The ſtudies of Shakſpeare were as little obſtructed, by his *attendance at court*, as they were, at any time, by his vexations, as the *manager* of a theatre. His editors have too eaſily admitted the aſſertion, that Shakſpeare was *a court-poet*. While he was yet animated by *better hope*, our poet addreſſed his *fugr'd ſonnets* to Queen Elizabeth: But, he did not, like Churchyard, follow the court from London to Norwich, and from Norwich to Hampton-court; nor, like Ben Johnſon, daily drudge, in providing *maſques*, and *mammets*, for the *unadviſed revel* of a *new reign*. As a man of the world, Shakſpeare only *garniſh'd and deck'd, in modeſt compliment*, his *new-year's gifts*, when, he *kiſs'd his ſovereign's hand*; or as a dramatiſt merely caught at temporary topicks, to pleaſe *the million*. But, of his *adulatory verſes* to *the great*, if we exclude the ſonnets, we have hardly any evidence; and of his encomiaſtic verſes

verſes to *fellow* poets, we have ſcarcely an example, as the editors have, indeed, remarked.

The ſtudies of Shakſpeare appear, to have gained him, in his own age, leſs diſtinguiſhed patronage, than popular applauſe, and reaſonable profit. For his ſonnets, he ſeems not to have obtained, from the thrifty Elizabeth, any greater recompence, than her *epiſtolary praiſe*, which *i' the world's volume* is valued nothing. The *letter of King James*, in our poet's commendation, has only induced unbelievers to *mock at an ancient tradition*. The celebrated patronage of Lord Southampton was too much cumber'd, with *domeſtick fury*, and *fierce civil ſtrife*, to yield *the poet* and *the player* aught, but *ſad invention*. Whether Lord Eſſex were the patron of Shakſpeare, amidſt his *giddy courſes*, I doubt, if there be any evidence, whatever Mr. Malone may have found. But, we have poſitive evidence, that the *incomparable paire of brethren*, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery, did *proſecute with much favour* our poet's *dramas*, and *their author living* (*b*). We have already ſeen ſatisfactory proof, although the editors are ſilent,

(*b*) The Player Editors Dedication.

that the Earl of Pembroke, as Lord Chamberlain, endeavoured to protect his writings from ſurreptitious publication, and tried to tranſmit his fame to *eternal date*.

We are now arrived at the memorable epoch, when Shakſpeare's writings were delivered over to *the bookſellers*, who are *the great patrons*, in modern times. The publication of four *folio* editions of Shakſpeare's dramas, during two-and-ſixty years of civil wars, exploded paſtimes, and of changeful faſhions, evince, that our poet continued to exhilarate the ancient halls; to *ſhake off downy ſleep, death's counterfeit, and* to help his votaries to *look on death itſelf*. But, it was not among the gay, alone, that Shakſpeare found peruſal, or among the ſerious, that he enforced admiration: The learned yielded him a tribute of applauſe, which is of higher value far, than the encomiaſtic verſes, which the editors have been diligent to collect. It was at OXFORD, where a dramatic taſte of a very different kind prevailed, than at LONDON; and where that tribute was paid, by the award of learning, to the effuſions of genius. "A great deal of falſe wit, and "forced humour, which had been the delight "of our metropolitan multitude, was only "rated there [Oxford] at its bare intrinſic

" value; applauſe was not to be purchaſed " there, but by the true ſterling, the *ſal Atti-* " *cum* of a genius: Shakſpeare and Johnſon " had there a ſort of *claſſical authority*; for " whoſe maſterly ſcenes they ſeemed to have " as implicit a reverence, as formerly, for the " *Ethicks* of Ariſtotle; and were as incapable " of allowing moderns to be their competitors, " as of changing their academical habits, " for gaudy colours, or embroidery (*c*)."— But, of commendation, both in verſe, and proſe, let this ſuffice: " The rather will I " ſpare my praiſes towards him; knowing " him is enough!"

While Shakſpeare was thus admired, by the learned, during a period, when the editors will hardly allow, that he was read, an edition of his *works* was undertaken by Rowe. He *has been clamouroufly blamed*, ſays Johnſon, *for not performing what he did not undertake*. He engaged to publiſh *the works* of Shakſpeare; yet, he only gave in *ſix* volumes, the *dramas* of Shakſpeare: In

(*c*) Such is the teſtimony of Colley Cibber, who is an indubitable witneſs, for ſuch a fact. [Apology, 385.] As the dramatical hiſtorian of his *own times*, he is ſpeaking of the reigns of King William, and Queen Anne, when ſuch worſhip was offered to Shakſpeare, at Oxford.

ſeven

ſeven volumes, ſays Mr. (*d*) Malone, in oppoſition to the firſt page, and the laſt, which ſpeak of *ſix*. But, whence this *averment* againſt the *record?* The anſwer is, *heedleſs attention* to the *outſide of books*. Edmond Curll, ſeeing with quicker eyes, added to the ſix a *ſpurious* volume, in 1710, conſiſting of Shakſpeare's Miſcellaneous Poems, with critical remarks. Pope, Hanmer, and Warburton; all engaged to publiſh *the works* of Shakſpeare, without performing what they undertook: And, they all ſeem to have thought very feebly of *truth*, and very contemptuouſly, of *the dull duty of an editor*. Theobald, *by having Pope for his enemy, has alone eſcaped*, with *reputation, from this undertaking*; although he too engaged to publiſh *the works* of Shakſpeare, and performed his engagement, by reprinting only his *dramas*. Theobald's edition, in 1733, may be conſidered as a national work: For, it was ſupported by a numerous liſt of ſubſcribers; of all that were high in rank, dignified by virtue, eminent in place, reſpectable for learning, and amiable in life: WALPOLE took *ſix* ſets of the royal paper, excluſive of the copies, which

(*d*) Shakſpeare, vol. i. part i. p. 230.

were

were ſubſcribed for by his family (*e*). Of this general concurrence, let not the purity be ſuſpected, by ſuppoſing that, in the veneration for Shakſpeare, and ſupport of Theobald, there may have been a little enmity to Pope, who had lately indulged, in quaffing Engliſh ale—*unexcis'd by kings*.

This ſpirit of admiration ſpread into Scotland, and into Ireland. The editions, which were publiſhed there, are treated as *ſpurious* by Mr. Malone, though I know not the cauſe. In 1753, the bookſellers of Edinburgh publiſhed *the works* of Shakſpeare; in which the beauties obſerved by Pope, Warburton, and Dod are pointed out; together with the author's life, a gloſſary, indexes, and a liſt of the various readings, in *eight* volumes. They too profeſſed to publiſh *the works*, though they only intended to re-publiſh *the dramas* of Shakſpeare. But, the great fault of this elegant edition conſiſts, in paying more regard to Pope, than to Theobald, and adopting for the *text* the *whimſies* of Warburton. The *gloſſary* might, perhaps, be uſefully preferred to the gloſſarial index of the late editions, which, whatever

(*e*) The ſubſcribers names were properly publiſhed in the firſt edition of Theobald, but unfitly left out of the ſubſequent editions.

may

may have been its original value, has, in the progreſs of improvement, been ſuperſeded, by a ſimilar work of greater uſefulneſs: Ayſcough's index is, indeed, of ſuch value, that the ſtudent of Shakſpeare cannot eaſily be without what is ſo helpful to the ignorant, and commodious to the ſkilful. "The diſtinguiſhed character of Shakſpeare, as a dramatic writer, the great demand for his works, among the learned and polite, and a *laudable zeal* for *promoting home manufactures*," ſays the Edinburgh editor, "were the principal motives for undertaking an edition of his works in Scotland." This *laudable zeal* has ſeldom been avowed, though it always has its influencial ſhare, in every edition of Shakſpeare. Thus the ſtudies of Shakſpeare, in addition to their other merits, have greatly promoted *home manufactures*. But, *here muſt our revels end!*

Such is *the Appendix*, to *the ſupplemental Apology*, which the believers preſume to ſubmit to the *true deciſion* of this equitable court. They were accuſed, as it will be eaſily remembered, of *knowing nothing of the ſtudies of Shakſpeare*, a ſubject, which, though allowed, by their accuſer, to be ſufficiently obſcure, has been little enlightened, by his labours. Their

apology

apology is, that they have been able, without pretenſions to knowledge, to throw new lights on the more retired ſtudies of Shakſpeare; that they have illuſtrated the dark, and diſintangled the knotty; that they have even had the luck, rather than the talents, to rectify the *hallucinations* of their accuſer himſelf, notwithſtanding his pretences to accuracy. In theſe views of their apology, they will, with hope, ſubmit to this court that,

"Now muſt *your conſcience their acquittance ſeal.*"

§ XII.

THE GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The queſtion, which is now under the conconſideration of this court, is not without its importance, whether it relate to the reputation of the ſcholars, antiquaries, and heralds, in pretending to judge of a ſubject, that they did not underſtand; or it refer to the character of their accuſer, in bringing a charge, and caſting imputations, that he has failed to ſupport.

In an age of diſcovery, when the minds of intelligent men are inflamed with an ardour of inquiry, *Miſcellaneous Papers*, which were attributed to Shakſpeare, were exhibited to the eye of curioſity, and offered to the judgment

ment of intellect, with all the appearances of age, and the usual concomitants of authenticity. The believers applied to those Papers the same maxims of investigation, as are safely used in daily life; because they are natural to man: And, they were thus induced to argue *of and concerning* those papers, upon principles of PROBABILITY; because *religion*, *law*, and *life* admit of no other principles of reasoning, than those of PROBABILITY. On the other hand, the public accuser argued wholly from suggestions of POSSIBILITY; continually crying out, without inspection, or examination, that those *Miscellaneous Papers* could not *possibly* be genuine. The parties are at issue upon this point. And the believers submit to this court, that they are *right*, and he is *wrong*; because, the same logic, and philosophy, which are always applied to *physics*, and *metaphysics*, must necessarily be applicable to Shakspeare, and his editors.

But, waving such considerations, the public accuser insists, "that there is no *external* "evidence, that can give any credibility to "those manuscripts, or entitle them to a se-"rious consideration." The believers are now at issue on *a fact*. Without disputing with him, at this *late hour*, about what is properly

properly *external evidence*, they ſubmit, that the vaſt volume of *Prolegomena*, which is now prefixed to the dramas of Shakſpeare, is *external* evidence; particularly thoſe *documents*, whence Mr. Malone inferred himſelf, and induced others to infer, that *Miſcellaneous Papers* of Shakſpeare do exiſt, and may yet be found; the confeſſion of faith of John Shakſpeare is external evidence; the Sonnets, which were addreſſed by Shakſpeare to Elizabeth, are external evidence; *every document*, which, forming no part of the *Miſcellaneous Papers* exhibited, could induce the believers to argue upon principles of probability, is *external* evidence, whatever *illogical minds* may think upon the point.

When the *Miſcellaneous Papers* paſſed from Norfolk-ſtreet to the world, every one could examine at leiſure, what they had ſeen in haſte, or heard of from report. The public accuſer now *racked* their *orthography*; criticiſed their language; and examined their dates. The believers again joined iſſue with him on theſe points: They have met him face to face, and foot to foot: To this court they ſubmit, that they have *rectified his own dates*; that they have diſproved his allegations, about the language of Shakſpeare's age; that they have ſhown,

ſhown, there was, in that period, no ſyſtem of orthography, which could form a *ſtandard*. If, on thoſe ſeveral heads of diſcuſſion, the public accuſer did not know, that his aſſertions were ungrounded, he comes with a very bad grace into this court to aſk for judgment againſt others, on an accuſation of *ignorance*: If he did know, that his aſſertions were groundleſs, he comes with a ſtill worſe grace to pray for puniſhment of others on a charge of crimes.

The public accuſer, however, confidently accuſed the believers of ignorance of the hiſtory of *the Stage*; of their ignorance of the ſtudies of Shakſpeare: On theſe ſeveral charges, they are in the judgment of this court, who will determine, which of the parties have made the moſt diſcoveries on thoſe ſubjects, and have thereby ſhown the moſt *accurate* knowledge; he, whoſe days and nights have been occupied about Shakſpeare, during thirty years; or they, who read Shakſpeare, as a relaxation of life.

In their turn, the believers will appeal to the equity of this court, both as to his *matter*, and *manner*: They ſubmit, that he has failed egregiouſly in both: And they pray, that in conſideration

conſideration of his *bad pleading*, he be adjudged, by this critical court, to *new write* his *Prolegomena to Shakſpeare*; to correct his opinions, by the *documents*, which the believers have put into his hands; and to adjuſt his *dates*, by the *records*, that the objects of his proſecution have quoted.

On the whole; the believers flatter themſelves that, in making their Apology, they have done an uſeful ſervice to Shakſpeare, and to truth, by the diſcoveries, which they have certainly made, and the corrections, that muſt neceſſarily enſue: They have brought documents enow into court, to prove incontrovertibly, that notwithſtanding the daily aſſertions of Shakſpeare's editors, much curious matter has been found, which had eſcaped their thirty years reſearches. The believers are ſo confident, in the truth of this poſition, that they will humbly pray this court, for an injunction of ſilence on the ſaid editors, that they do no more boaſt, in their daily habits, of their own ſufficiency, and of others ignorance; of nothing to be found, about Shakſpeare, after their diſcoveries; on ſuch pain, as may thereupon enſue; of the contempt of the wiſe, and the ridicule of the flippant. The

believers, finally, submit their Apology, by accommodating to this profecution Othello's well-known ſpeech:

" Let him do his ſpite:
" Our ſervices, which we have hereby done to *Shakſpeare*
" Shall out-tonge his complaints. 'Tis yet to know,
" Which, when we know that boaſting is an honour,
" We ſhall promulgate."

THE

THE APPENDIX.

—— N° I. ——

SINCE the foregoing ſheets were printed off, I have received from Edinburgh the ſubjoined ordinances of King James and his council *Anent the Ingliſhe Commedians*, which are ſubjoined; as they are curious in themſelves; and illuſtrate the obſcure hiſtory of the Scottiſh ſtage. [See before, page 418.] Archbiſhop Spottiſwood is ſo accurate, in his account of what paſſed, in conſequence of the licenſe given to *the Ingliſhe Commedians*, that we may ſuppoſe he had ſeen the *two* following *ordinances*, which are now publiſhed from *the Acts and Decreets of the Secrete Council*, No. 6. fol. 155-159. My active, and intelligent, correſpondent, at Edinburgh, could not diſcover, in any of the records there, *the Licenſe* to the *Ingliſhe Commedians*, which would have ſhown the names of the players, and the motives of their appearance at that city. There is, however, enough of evidence to

satisfy accurate minds, that there is no probability in the surmise of Mr. Malone, "that "King James solicited Queen Elizabeth, in "1599, to send a company of English co-"medians to Edinburgh." [Shak. vol. i. part ii. p. 39.]

ORDINANCE *against the* FOURE SESSIONS of the BURGH of EDINR.

Apud Haliruidhous octavo Novembris *lxxxxix°*. [1599].

The Kings Majestie and Lords of his Secret Counsall Considering the lait Contempt and indignitie done to his hienes be the foure Sessiones of the Burgh of Edinburgh in taking upon thame be a public Act to contramand the warrant and libertie grantet be his hienes to certain Commedians to play within the said Burgh and in ordaining thair Ministeres publicklie to discharge thair flokes to repair to the saidis Commedies They having nawayes acqweinted his Majesty of before with ony lawful Caus or ground moving thame thereunto Nor no uther wayes acknowledging his hienes as they Aucht and Sould have done afoir thay had sa avowedlie opponet thamselfis to his Majesties warrant and direction foresaid Therefore his Majestie and the saidis Lordis ordainis an Officer of Arms to pas to the Mercate Croce of Edinr. and thair be open proclamation in his hienes name and authority to Command and Charge the hail persones of the saidis foure Sessiones Becaus they are an multitude to convene thameselfis in thair accustomat place of convening within three hours next after the said Charge And thair be ane special Act to cass annull and Discharge the uther Act foresaid And with that to gif ane special ordinance

ordinance and direction to thair hail Miniſtrès that they after thair Sermond upon the next Sonday publicklie admoneſhe thair awne flockis to reverence and obay his Majeſty and to declair to thame that thay will not reſtreane nor cenſure ony of thair flockes that ſall repair to the ſaidis Comedies and Playis conſidering his Majeſtie is not of purpoſe or intention to authoriſe allow or command ony thing quhilk is prophane or may carry ony offence or ſclander with it. And to charge thame hereto under the pain of rebellion and putting of thame to the horne And to charge the ſaidis Miniſters that thay after their ſaids Sermonds conforme thameſelfis to the direction and ordinance to be ſet doune be the ſaidis Seſſiones hereanent under the ſaid pane of rebellion &c and gif ony of the ſaidis perſones diſobays to denunce the diſobeyanes Rebellis &c.

Anent the INGLISHE COMMEDIANS.

Apud Halirnidhous decimo Novembris *lxxxxix°*. [1599.]

Forſameikle as the Kings Majeſtie having granted an Warrant & Libertie to certain Ingliſche Commedians to play within the Burgh of Edinburgh Zit upone ſum ſiniſter and wrangous Reporrt made to the foure Seſſions of the Kirk of Edinburgh be Certain Malicious and Reſtles Bodyes wha upon every licht occaſioun miſconſtroweis his Majeſtys hail doinges and miſinterpreitis his heines guid intentiones quhatſumevir The ſaidis foure Seſſiones were movit very raſchlie and unadviſedly to contramand be ane publick Act his Majeſties ſaid Warrand And thairwithall ordainit thair Miniſters to publiſhe the ſaid Contramand and to threaten the Cenſure of the Kirk againes the Contravenars thereof unacquainting his Majeſtie of befoir with ony lauchful Ground or Caus moving thame thereto with the quhilk thair errour and overſicht they being now

better advisit and having all convenit on this mater and willing nawise to be contentious with his Majestie, bot in all reverence and humilitie to obey his hienes as becumes gude and obedient subjectes In respect of the pruif quhilk they have ever had of his Majestie that his hienes has not commandit nor allowit any thing carreying with it ony offence or Sclander They after the dew acknowledging of their former errour rasche and unadvised proceedinges have now be another Act cassed annullit and discharged thair former Act foresaid And hes ordainit the same to be ineffectual hereafter with the admonitiones given conforme thereto be the Ministeres to their flockis in manner foresaid sa that now not only may the saidis Commedians freely enjoy the benefite of his Majesties libertie and warrant granted to thame Bot all his Majesties subjects inhabitants within the said Burgh and utheres quhatsumever may freelie at thair awin plesour repair to the saidis Comedies and Playes without ony pane skaith censuring reproach or sclander to be incurrit be thame thairthrow or to be *un*censureit or fund fault with be the Ministeres Magistrates or Sessionis of the said Burgh in ony wyse notwithstandis the first Act foresaid and admonition given conform thairto or ony others the like Acts and admonitiones to be maid and geven hereafter without his Majesties consent and allowance And ordaines Officiares of Arms to pas to the Market Croce of Edin^r. and thair be open proclamation mak publication hereof Quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same.

Aberdeen, 13 May 1635.

Licence was granted to George Jameson, painter, to build, make policy, and plant, in and about that plot of ground, called *the Play-field*, belonging to the town, where *comedies were wont to be acted of old*, near the well of Spaw, and a life rent lease thereof was given him. He was to build and plant upon it, and to fortify it against the violence of speats,

ſpeats, [floods] all on his own charges, and at his death, it was to belong to the town. [MS. extracts from the records of the city of Aberdeen.] It ſeems he improved it to excellent advantage. Jameſon built a ſummer-houſe of timber in his garden, which he adorned with painting, which was much admired in that time. But, of this, there is not now [1750] the leaſt veſtige. That ſpot of ground, which lies low to the weſt of the well of Spaw, Woolman, or Woman Hills, is now a bleaching-green. Formerly the ſtudents at the grammar-ſchool played there at the butts, and the victor, got the ſilver arrow, which was kept in the ſchool. [MS. Notes.]

—— N° II. ——

The ſubjoined extracts from Sir Henry Herbert's office-book, which was found in *the old cheſt*, at Ribbesford, came to hand after the foregoing ſheets were printed; and are now added as uſeful notices, in reſpect to his life:—

I was ſworn King James his ſervant by Sr George Reeve on ordinary Gentleman of his Privy Chamber. 20th March 1621, at Whitehall.—It pleaſed the King att my Lord Chamberlanes motion to ſende for mee unto his bedchamber by James Palmer and to Knighte mee with my Lorde Marquis Hamilton's ſworde. He was pleaſed likewiſe to beſtowe many good words upon mee & to receive mee as M^r of his Revells, att Wilton, this 7 of Aug. 1623.—I ſente the certificate of my Knitehood under my Lord Chamberlines hande to the Earle Marſhall & hereupon he certified to the Office of the Harolds & twas entered in their booke the 14th Aug^ſt. 1623. The Harolds had no fee, but the Lord Marſhals Secretary 10^s.

—— N° III. ——

In the accounts of Henry the 7th are the following items :—

[1492]	7th year	—to my Lorde of Oxon̄ pleyers in rewarde	20*s.*
[1494]	9th	—to the Kings Pleyers for a reward - - -	53*s.* 4*d.*
		—to Walter Alwyn for *the Revells* at C'tenmes	£.13 6*s.* 8*d.*
		—To Walter Alwyn in full payment forthe diſguyſing made at Chriſtenmes - -	£.14. 13*s.* 4*d.*
		—to the Pleyers of Wymborne Mynyſtre -	20*s.*
[1495]	10	—to three Pleyers of Wycombe in rewarde	13*s.* 4*d.*
		—to the Frenſhe Pleyers in rewarde - -	40*s.*
	14	—to the Pleyers with mametts [puppets.]	
	16	—to the Pleyers at Myles Ende - - - -	3*s.* 4*d.*
[1502]	17	—to John Engliſhe, the Pleyer - - - -	10*s.*
[1503]	18	—to the Pleyers of St. Albones - - - -	10*s.*
		—to the Pleyers of Eſſex in rewarde - -	20*s.*

In the accounts of Henry the 8th are the following items :—

[1513] 4 Novr. 5 year—to Willm Wynneſbery lorde of Myſ-

fule

rule upon a Warr. signed for his busynes this Criſtemes next £.13. vj*s.* 8*d.*

[1514] 6 yr. 1 Jañy—Item to therle of Wiltyſshir Players that ſhulde have played in the Kings hall oppon Thurſdaye 13*s.* 4*d.*

—to the Kings olde Players in rewarde - £.4.

7 Jañy—Item to the Kings Players in rewarde - 66*s.* 8*d.*

[1516] 8th yr 8 Mar—To Mr. Corniſhe of the Chapell for his rewarde for a play which was plaid upon Sheroſtewiſday - £.6. 13*s.* 4*d.*

Mem: John Engliſh, the player, who was paid *ten* ſhillings by Henry the 7th, in 1502, is the ſame comedian, who, with his *companyons*, accompanied the Lady Margaret from Windſor to Edinburgh, in 1503; and played *moralities* at her marriage with James, the fourth. [See before, p. 416.] And, it is curious to remark, that John Engliſh, who is now introduced to the lovers of the drama, is the earlieſt *manager*, of players, who has hitherto been diſcovered.

Aberdene, 1503, July 24.

Ten pounds were aſſigned to the *common menſtralis*, to furniſh them to the paſſage [for their journey] with the Alderman, and other honourable neighbours, to the *feaſt* of the *Kings marriage*, at command of his highneſs, and to the pleaſure of his Majeſty. [MS. extracts from the city-records of *Aberdeen.*]

—— N° IV. ——

There is *a witchery* about the name of SHAKSPEARE, which gives an intereſt to every thing, that is, in any manner, connected with him. We naturally wiſh to know the ſtate of *the town*, where he was born, in 1564, and died, in 1616, while he was yet *little declined into the vale of years*. In 1614, much of Stratford-upon-Avon was burnt. The ſubjoined letters from the council-regiſters will ſhow the cauſe of that calamity, which involved our poet, in danger, and the meaſures, that were taken to prevent ſimilar miſfortunes:

A Letter from the Privy Council to the Bailiff, chief Alderman, and Town Clerk, for the time being, of Stratford-upo-Avon; dated the 16th March 1618.

Wee ſend you here inloſed a petition exhibited unto us, on the behalf of that Borough of *Stratford upon Haven*, wherein is humbly repreſented unto us, the great and lamentable loſs happened to that Town by caſualty of Fire, which, of late years, hath been very frequently occaſioned by means of thatched Cottages, Stacks of Straw, Furzes, and ſuch like combuſtible ſtuff, which are ſuffered to be erected and made confuſedly in moſt of the principal parts of the Town without reſtraint. And which being ſtill continued cannot but prove very dangerous, and ſubject to the like inconveniences; and therefore we have thought meet for the better ſafety and ſecuring that Town from future Danger, hereby to authorize and require you to take Order that

that from hence forward there be not any houſe or Cottage, that ſhall be erected by any Owner of Land or other ſuffered to be thatched, nor any Stacks or piles of Straw or Furzes made in any part of that Town either upon the Streets or elſewhere that may any way indanger the ſame by Fire as formerly, but that all the houſes and Cottages to be hereafter built within the Town be covered with Tyles or Slates, and the foreſaid Stacks and Piles removed to fit and convenient places without the Town. And for the houſes and Cottages already built and covered with Straw there, wee do likewiſe require you to cauſe the ſame to be altered and reformed, according to theſe directions with as much expedition as may ſtand with convenience and as the ſafety and welfare of that Town may any way require. Herein Wee require you to take Order accordingly, in caſe of any oppoſition to theſe our directions whereby the performance of the ſame may be interrupted or ſtayed to make Certificate unto us of the Names of ſuch as ſhall not conform themſelves accordingly that ſuch further Order may be taken therein as ſhall be expedient. And ſo &c.

But, thoſe ſalutary orders of the privy-council were not altogether obeyed. And, George Badger, William Shawe, and John Beeſeley, alias Coxie, inhabitants of that borough, were brought before the privy-council, on an accuſation of diſobedience: Yet, they were ſoon diſcharged; as they were not rigorouſly proſecuted: Theſe facts, we may learn from the ſubjoined *Letter* of *the Privy-council*, dated the 26th of November, 1619:—

You ſhall underſtand that complaint was made unto us by a petition in the name of the Bailiff and Burgeſſes of the Town

Town of Stratford-*upon-Haven*, That whereas there was an Order lately made at this Board reſtraining the uſe of thatching of houſes and Cottages in that Town, to prevent and avoid the danger and great loſs by Fire that of late time hath often happened there by means of ſuch thatched houſes to the utter ruin and overthrow of many the Inhabitants. Theſe three parties George Badger William Shawe and John Beeſley, refuſing to conform themſelves to our ſaid Order, had in contempt thereof erected certain thatched houſes and Cottages to the ill example of others and the endangering of the Town by the like caſualty of fire. Whereupon they being convened before us, for as much as they do abſolutely deny that they have ſhewed any ſuch diſobedience at all to our ſaid Order, nor committed any manner of Act contrary thereunto ſince the publication of the ſame in that Town: And that the party that exhibited the Complaint againſt them in the name of the Town, did not appear to make good his information. Wee have thought good to diſmiſs the ſaid Badger, Shaw, and Beeſley for the preſent. And withal to pray and require you to take due examination of the foreſaid Complaint which you ſhall receive here incloſed and upon full information of the Truth thereof to make Certificate unto us, of what you find therein, that ſuch further Order may be taken as ſhall be meet. And ſo &c.

During the age of Shakſpeare, however, the other towns of England were in the ſame ſtate of wretchedneſs. On a complaint from the Univerſity of *Cambridge* "that much caſualty "hath happened by fire, in that town, oc- "caſioned by houſes, and *cottages*, being "*thatched with reed*, and *ſtraw*," the privy-council,

council, on the 2d of June 1619, iſſued an order, " that no houſes, cottages, &c. be built " without the builders thereof engage to " cover the ſame with ſlates, or tiles." [Council-reg^r.] Let us now look at *London*: In 1567, the Royal Exchange was firſt built. In 1571, *Wapping* was firſt begun to be built on its *ſeabank*. In 1571, about which time *the Curtain* theatre was erected, *White-chapel* was *firſt paved*. In 1590, London was inhabited by about 160,000 people. In 1603, London and Weſtminſter, which were once a mile aſunder, were, about this time, gradually joined together, by buildings. In 1605, the village, called St. Gyles's in the fields remained ſtill unconnected with the town; and was now, as well as Drury-lane, firſt paved. In 1613, Weſt Smithfield was firſt paved. In 1618, the ſuburb, called Lincoln's-inn-fields, was firſt adorned. [Vid. the Chron. Index to Anderſ. Commerce. Art. London.]

— N° V. —

All the art, and induſtry, of the commentators have been uſed to free Shakſpeare from the imputation of *having poiſoned the hour of confidence and feſtivity*, by writing a malignant

epitaph on John-a-Combe, who bequeathed our poet a legacy of five pounds. This was John Combe of Welcombe, in the parish of Stratford-upon-Haven, who made his will, on the 28th of January 1612-13, which was proved November 10, 1615; and who was buried at Stratford, on the 11th of July 1614, at the premature age of fifty-three. His eldest son, and heir, was William Combe of Welcombe, who died, at the same place, January 30, 1666-7, aged eighty: His second son was Thomas Combe, to whom Shakspeare bequeathed *his sword*, and who died also at Stratford, in July 1657, aged sixty-eight. Shakspeare, we may recollect, devised to his daughter Susannah all his hereditaments, lying "within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields, "and grounds of Stratford-upon-Avon, Old "Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcombe." [Mal. Shak. vol. i. part i. pag. 121: Steevens's Shak. 1793, vol. i. p. 22-97.] Now; weighing all those circumstances, with the following *documents*, which were copied from the council-registers, it appears to me more than probable, that John Combe, attempting to inclose, and to turn to pasture, four hundred acres of land, *to the prejudice of the poor*, thereby made himself odious to the people; and was, therefore,

libelled, in various verſes, by the *minor poets* of Stratford: And, William Combe, continuing his father's meaſures, was oppoſed by the Bailiffe and Burgeſſes of Stratford-upon-Haven, who obtained the ſubjoined interdict from the privy-council:—

A Letter from the Privy-council to the Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir Edward Coke, Knight; dated the 14th February 1618.

By the incloſed petition you ſhall perceive the complaint made unto us on the behalf of the Bailiffs and Burgeſſes of Stratford upon Haven in the County of Warwick concerning an incloſure of 400 Acres of Arable land intended to be turned into paſture by William Combe of Welcombe in the ſaid pariſh [of] Stratforde to the prejudice of the Tithes of Corn and Grain employed to divers charitable uſes the particulars whereof will by the petition appear unto you.—Foraſmuch as we find that you are already acquainted with this cauſe, and that at the Aſſizes in Lent 13th of His Majeſty upon a petition there exhibited, it was then ordered that no ſuch Incloſure ſhould be made there, nor any decay of Tillage admitted untill good cauſe ſhould be ſhewed to the Judges, in open Aſſizes to the contrary. And that the ſame Order was likewiſe confirmed by the Judges there 15th of The King.—We have thought meet hereby to pray and require you taking to your aſſiſtance the Juſtices of Aſſize of the County of Warwick, if you ſhall ſo think fit, to call as well the ſaid Combe, as the petitioners before you, and upon hearing of the cauſe, to order ſuch a courſe therein for the relief of the petitioners, as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice, or otherwiſe to certify us your opinion of the ſame, that ſuch further Order may be taken as ſhall be meet. And ſo &c.

A Letter

A Letter from the Privy-council to William Combe Esqr. of Welcombe, in the County of Warwick, dated the 12th March 1618:—

It is not unknown unto you what course hath been held here in the examination of the complaint exhibited to this Board against you, on the behalf of the Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Town of Stratford upon Haven concerning the inclosing of a certain quantity of Arable Land converting the same into pasture, and other proceedings of yours therein, to the great prejudice both of the Church and the Poor of that Town, in taking away the Tithes of Corn and Grain employed to divers charitable and public uses there. And forasmuch as it appeareth that there have been certain Orders conceived and set down in this Case by the Justices of Assize of that County with consent of all parties prohibiting the Inclosure of these Lands, converting the Arable Ground into pasture, and ploughing up of the green Sward of the Meeres and Banks: It is held meet and Just, that those Orders be confirmed, and that whatsoever hath been since committed or done contrary to the same be forthwith reformed. And therefore we do hereby straitly charge and require you to take present Order, that the inclosures contained in the Certificate of Sir Richard Verney &c and which have been made contrary to the aforesaid Orders set down in open Assizes be forthwith laid open as formerly they were. As also that the Land converted into pasture be again made Arable for Corn and Grain according to the course of Husbandry there. And lastly that the Meeres and Banks be restored and made perfect. Whereof we require you to have that due care as is meet, and to see these directions fully accomplished and observed until such time as the Justices of Assize for that County shall upon judicial hearing take other Order therein.—Whereof you may not fail as you will answer the contrary at your peril. And so &c.

—— N° VI. ——

It was deemed a proper attention to Mr. Malone, and to Mr. Waldron, to republiſh, in this Appendix, their retractions, and explanations, as far as they have appeared in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE:—

15th April.

Mr. Urban,

In my late inquiry into the authenticity of the pretended Shakſpeare MSS. (p. 318, n. 193), I have ſaid that the French had not the words "deranger nor derangement" in the time of Shakſpeare. But this was a miſtake, into which I was led by looking into Cotgrave's dictionary for thoſe words as they are now ſpelt. He has, I find, "deſrangé and deſranger" (which was the ſpelling of his time), but not deſrangement. This, however, does not at all affect my principal argument in that place; for, all that I was bound to ſhew was, that *we* had not the Engliſh words formed from them till above a century afterwards; and this I have ſhewn. [From this embarraſſment, Mr. Malone might have more eaſily extricated himſelf, by looking into *the Interpreter* of Cowel, who was the contemporary of Shakſpeare, in Vo. *Deraign*, or *Dereign*.—"Laſtly, in ſome places, the ſubſtantive *deraign-* "*ment* is found uſed in the very literal ſignification of the "French *derayer*, or *diſranger*, that is, *turning out of* "*courſe*."]

At the ſame time that I mention this ſlight overſight, permit me to notice two errors which eſcaped me when I was making the table of errata. In p. 93, l. ult. of text, for noviciate read novice; and, in p. 254, l. 15, for twenty read twenty-ſeven. E. M.

25th April.

One word more, Mr. Urban, with your leave, on the Shakſpeare forgery. I was perfectly aware (as I have mentioned in my book) of the difficulty of eſtabliſhing a negative proof; and, therefore, was not ſurpriſed to find that I had been miſtaken in the objection made in p. 164 to "*heaven*" being employed in one of theſe ſpurious MSS. as a diſſyllable. I now recollect that it is ſo uſed in MACBETH:—

"Hear it not, Duncan! for it is a knell,
"That ſummons thee to heaven, or to hell."

The inſipidity, however, of the water-gruel compoſition where this word is found, remains ſtill perfect and unrivalled.

[A *thirty-years-critic* on Shakſpeare might have known, without recollection, that *our maſter* generally uſes *heaven*, as a *monoſyllable*, and but ſometimes as a *diſſyllable*. Such a critic might have alſo known, that Spenſer, with the poetic licenſe, uſes *heaven*, both as a monoſyllable, and as a diſſyllable, very frequently, in *The Ruins of Time*:

"The world's late wonder, and the *heavens* new joy.
"Yet, 'ere his happy ſoul to *heaven* went."

The *inſipidity* of *water-gruel* is nothing to the peruſal of *the ſcribble* of a critic, who pretends to know every thing, without knowing any thing diſtinctly.]

P. 85. l. 8, for Angliæ, r. Anglis.

P. 226. l. 14, dele Henry; for I find he was chriſtened by the names of Henry Frederick.

E. M.

20th May.

By an error of the preſs, one of the corrections of the "Vindication of Shakſpeare," which I ſent you laſt month, could not be underſtood. The reference was to p. 229, where Henry Prince of Wales, is ſaid to have had but one

Chriſtian name; whereas, in truth, as appears from a paſſage in Camden's Remains, 4° 1605, which had eſcaped me, he was baptized by the names of Henry-Frederick.

[Yet; even with the help of Camden, our critic does not depart from his groundleſs poſition, that there were not, in the age of Shakſpeare, any inſtances of *two* names of baptiſm: Nor, does he recollect, that the baptiſm of Henry-Frederick was ſet forth in Birch's *Life* of *Henry, Prince of Wales*, 1760.]

As I have thus once more had occaſion to ſay a word on this ſubject, and I am deſirous of giving as little trouble as may be to whoever may anſwer the "Vindication" (if at the end of eight weeks an Anſwerer ſhall come into the field), I beg leave to add a few more corrections.

P. 96. l. 2, Coripheæus. r. Coryphæus; p. 138. l. 5, from the bottom, for Chinſe, r. Chineſe; p. 189. l. 2, for have, r. haue; and in p. 190. l. 10, the ſame correction ſhould be made. In p. 193 l. 8 and 10, the word "and" is twice printed by the miſtake of the Compoſitor, inſtead of the abbreviation &. P. 338, n. for Anderlocn alls (the letters have been miſplaced at the preſs) r. Anderſon calls.

In p. 79, I have expreſſed a doubt concerning the antiquity of the word excellence, as applied to written compoſitions, but lately have found reaſon to believe that this word was thus uſed in Shakſpeare's time. E. M.

Feb. 7.

Mr. Urban,

Having only truth in view, I am anxious to acknowledge the ſmalleſt error I may have fallen into. In pp. 11, 12, of "Free Reflections on Miſcellaneous Papers and Legal Inſtruments, under the Hand and Seal of William Shakſpeare;" I have ſaid that "Whimzies," &c. the title of a book printed in 1631, "is the earlieſt inſtance I can recollect of any word like Whymſycalle." Since the publication

lication of that pamphlet, I have obſerved that Whimſey occurs ſo early as in the firſt edition of "Ben Johnſon his "Volpone, or the Foxe." 4to. 1607. the third act of which begins thus:

Moſca.

"I feare, I ſhall begin to grow in love
"With my deare ſelfe, and my moſt proſp'rous parts,
"They do ſo ſpring, and burgeon; I can feele
"A whimſey I' my blood."

I avail myſelf of this opportunity to inform the ſeveral perſons who have honoured me with their enquiries, that the entire MS. of "The Virgin Queen," from which ſome extracts have been printed, is in the poſſeſſion of your conſtant reader. F. G. Waldron.

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